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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Major General

SIR ROBERT ROLLO GILLESPIE, K.C.B.

Engraved by Thomson,

from a Picture

painted for W.H. Hamilton, at Calcutta.

1814.

A

MEMOIR

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR R. R. GILLESPIE,

KNIGHT COMMANDER

OF THE MOST HONORABLE ORDER OF THE BATH, &c.

FELIX, QUI TANTA LUCEM MERCEDE RELINQUIT.

Statius.

AS HE HAD A FULL APPETITE OF FAME BY JUST AND GENEROUS ACTIONS, SO HE HAD AN EQUAL CONTEMPT OF IT BY ANY SERVILE EXPEDIENTS.

Character of Viscount Falkland by Lord Clarendon.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. EGERTON,

AT THE MILITARY LIBRARY, WHITEHALL.

1816.

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B. Clarke, Printer, Well-Street, Cripplegate.

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

PRINCE REGENT.

SIR,

The subject of this Memoir must be the apology for the liberty thus taken of inscribing it to your Royal Highness; but it is one that cannot fail to meet with indulgence where merit has ever found a friend, and heroism an admirer.

To a Prince whose government has gained unusual splendour from the magnitude of his exertions, and the success of his arms, this relation of services, which, by extending the British power, have given security to its commerce, may be addressed with the confidence of obtaining an attentive consideration and a favorable acceptance. But the history of a soldier, whose

VALOUR could only be surpassed by his LOYALTY, and who closed his career of labour and glory by devoting himself at the moment of perilous extremity, as an example to inspirit his troops, may be said to have peculiar claims to the notice of a sovereign who has manifested on all occasions sympathy for the sufferings of the brave, sorrow for their loss, and an anxious concern to do honor to their memories.

That your Royal Highness may long continue to enjoy the satisfaction of witnessing the happy fruits of the peace, which, by the firmness of your counsels, and the intrepidity of your warriors, has been restored to the bleeding world, is the prayer of

Your Royal Highness's
Most dutiful,
And obedient subject,
THE AUTHOR.

ERRATA.

Page 3, line 20, for Innisharie *read* Inneshargie.

18, line 16, for Maraghmore *read* Maryborough.

66, line 18, for Stock *read* Hock.

91, line 5, for "to India" *read* "to the East."

170, line 14, for Minto *read* Mintow.

175, line the last, for Royal *read* Bengal.

The Binder is requested to place the Plan at the end of the Volume.

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BEING THE RESULT OF OBSERVATIONS MADE IN A TOUR THROUGH THE COUNTRY:

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF ITS DEPENDENCIES.

By MAJOR WILLIAM THORN,

Late Deputy Quarter-Master-General to the Forces serving in Java.

MEMOIRS

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR R. R. GILLESPIE,

K. C. B.

OF all the monuments that can be erected to commemorate the public services of eminent men, the historical detail of their actions, and a faithful delineation of their virtues, will ever be found the most honourable to the deceased, and the most useful to the living. Marbles and inscriptions may be very becoming marks of national gratitude, and proper stimulants to the imitation of illustrious deeds, but whatever be the utility of these performances, as objects of taste, feeling, and patriotism, their moral influence is contracted within narrow limits: and such is the natural imperfection of the human mind, that it

loses the impression of the most splendid works of art, when they are no longer within the reach of observation. There is also an unavoidable disadvantage in the productions of the statuary, that they are necessarily confined to single incidents in the lives of heroic characters: from which circumstance, it happens, that while the spectator is attracted to the contemplation of a particular scene of glory, he is deprived of the more substantial benefit which he would receive in estimating the entire merit of departed greatness. The humblest chronicler, therefore, may, without the imputation of vanity, lay claim to indulgence, when he reports in a strain of simplicity those facts, which, but for his care, would fade away from the memory, and leave even statues and mausoleums subject to regret and complaint in a future age, for the want of accurate and minute memorials illustrative of their subjects. Impressed with this consideration, and sensible of the obligation laid upon contemporaries to record, while they have it in their power, the virtues which they have witnessed, the writer of these sheets has ventured to publish an unadorned account of a com-

mander, whose amiable qualities endeared him to his friends, and whose splendid services, though displayed in distant regions, will ever entitle him to the admiration of his country. So long, indeed, as military virtue shall be held in esteem, and so long as our national history shall be read with pride and emulation, so long will the name of this heroic character be mentioned with enthusiasm, and his exploits pointed out as examples of imitation.

Robert Rollo Gillespie was born at the paternal seat of Cumber, in the county of Down, January the twenty-first, 1766. His grandfather, who married a daughter of Lord Rollo, removed from Scotland, to take possession of some estates in Ireland, in the year 1720. The son of this respectable gentleman espoused for his third wife a lady of the first connexions, who was also of Scottish extraction, being the sister of James Bailie, Esq. of Innisharie, in the county of Down, and many years representative in the Irish parliament for the town of Hillsborough. There were no children by the two first marriages; and the only fruit of the last

was the subject of the present memoir, who, in consequence, experienced from the fondest of parents every indulgence, though at the same time they were studiously attentive to the right direction of his moral principles, and the cultivation of his understanding. The elements of instruction he received from his mother, who was in all respects a most accomplished woman, and knew well how to blend authority with affection. But at an early age he was brought to England, and placed in a private seminary at Kensington, known at that time by the name of Norland House, and rendered fashionable as a place of education by the expence with which it was conducted, and the rank and wealth of the pupils. What advancement in learning our youth made at this place does not exactly appear; but if his attainments were neither so extensive nor deep as to rank him among scholars, his general taste for letters, and the elegance of his conversation, plainly evinced, that, whatever might have been his irregularities, he had not failed in an application to his studies when at school, nor neglected to improve what he had acquired in the vicissitudes of active life. It

was the wish of his friends that he should follow the profession of the law; but the course they adopted was ill calculated for that object, as, instead of training the mind to constant discipline and patient investigation, it may almost be said to have given an excessive latitude to the passions, and to have opened perpetually new scenes of pleasure to the imagination. Instead of taking a house in the immediate vicinity of the metropolis, the parents fixed their residence at Bath, where, during the vacations, young Gillespie was introduced into all the gay circles at that seat of amusement and dissipation. Accustomed to the unlimited gratification of his wishes from his very childhood, and thus habituated at the most critical period of life to scenes of extravagance in this receptacle of the wealthy and the idle, the weak and designing, it is not at all to be wondered that he should return to school with a lessened inclination to study, or that he should contract an insuperable aversion to the laborious application which was necessary to qualify him for distinction at the bar. To that distinction, however, parental ambition and regard continued to look with a fixed and anxious solicitude; and,

therefore, in that view, the son was removed from Norland House to the care of the Reverend Mr. Tookey of Exning, near Newmarket, that he might profit by that gentleman's instructions, preparatory to his admission as a commoner of Emmanuel College in Cambridge. But this design was rendered abortive at the next visit to Bath, during the vacation, by the determined resolution of the youth to embrace the military profession; with which his parents reluctantly complied, and he returned to his tutor no more. It was now the close of the American war, which circumstance probably occasioned the less difficulty in the consent that was given to the purchase of a cornetcy in the third regiment of horse carabineers; his appointment to which was dated April the twenty-eighth, 1783. To one who had scarcely met with any restraint, and had not yet reached his eighteenth year, this new situation was attended with danger, on account of the idleness induced by it in the time of peace, and the variety of temptations continually springing up through the courtesy of strangers, or the ingenuity of associates. The powerful stimulant to mental improvement and professional

activity is wanting in the season of profound repose, especially at the termination of a long and painful struggle, which has not been distinguished by any extraordinary atchievements, or crowned at last by national glory. At the period of which we are speaking, the martial ardour was rather depressed than animated, owing to the ill success of our arms, and the scanty trophies which had rewarded our laborious efforts in North America. When, therefore, we receded from the contest, and abandoned the avowed object for which it was so long maintained, there was nothing that could warrant the exultation of the veteran, or excite the ardent emulation of the youthful soldier. The termination of that tremendous conflict resembled the awful subsidence of a hurricane, more than the tranquil satisfaction of restored security: and though every one was glad of repose, yet none were presumptuous enough to claim a triumph. On all sides there appeared more wreck than glory; and though splendid instances of valour both by land and sea were not wanting, yet to none of them could the decisive influence be attributed of procuring for Great Britain an

ascendency over her competitors. Such was the gloomy and unpromising era when this gallant and enterprising officer entered the service; and, therefore, if a considerable blank occurs in the early part of his military life, and if, during that space, he suffered himself to be allured by the attractive pleasures generally laid in the way of his profession, the excuse will be found in the peculiar circumstances under which he was placed, and the little prospect there then was of his ever being called into active employment. Still, amidst the varieties with which he mixed, the convivialities in which he indulged, and the sports which he followed, he was not insensible to the loss sustained by him in the want of a proper sphere for the application of his powers and the improvement of his talents. An impulse to exertion was wanting: and though a succession of amusements seemed almost to have engrossed his thoughts in the preparation, and his hours in the enjoyment, inquietude preyed on his mind, and repletion embittered his festivities. His soul panted for the field of toil, and thirsted for the career of glory. With this view, he entreated his father to afford him the means

of entering the Austrian service, where, though he might not attain rank or renown, he would be certain of enlarging his mind by knowledge, and of correcting it by discipline. But, undeniably just as were his arguments, and commendable his motives, parental fear presented an obstacle to his desires, which could neither be overcome by reason, nor be softened by importunity. The idea of parting with an only child was so distressing, that even the natural wish to see him rise to the height of professional eminence failed to preponderate in favour of his laudible request. Thus, parental tenderness not only impeded his progress for a season, but may be said, without offence, to have occasioned those irregularities in conduct, and that waste of time, which at a latter period no one more candidly confessed or deeply lamented than this brave and high-minded man, who was so far from palliating or denying the errors of his early days, that he converted them into a lesson of humiliation to himself, and of caution to others. Yet, amidst the seduction of amusement and the allurements of pleasure, the indulgence of friends, and the warmth of his passions, he never lost sight of

his moral dignity, nor deviated from the line of his professional duty. On the contrary, he was beloved by his companions, and esteemed by his superiors: wherever he resided, the suavity of his manners, and the excellence of his disposition, rendered him the delight of society, while the elegance of his person made him an object of general admiration. These amiable qualities produced an important change in his condition before his attainment of complete maturity: and though the circumstances attending this portion of his history may be considered as having a romantic character, the narrative is strictly true in the minutest instances. One fine day, in the month of June, 1786, Mr. Gillespie, who was then quartered with his troops at Clogher, being riding out in the neighbourhood, met a young and very elegant lady, who was also on horseback. Though totally unacquainted with each other, both, by an instantaneous, and, as it were, sympathetic impulse, made a stop on passing, and turned their horses to take a second view of what had excited a sudden admiration. Ordinary compliments led to inquiry; and the following day the young officer called to pay his res-

pects at the Deanry, where the young lady, Miss Annabell, the fourth daughter of the late Thomas Taylor, Esq. of Taylor's Grange, in the county of Dublin, was then on a visit. Such was the prepossessing manner of our hero, that if his appearance at a casual observation made an impression on the heart of his new and fair acquaintance, his lively conversation could not fail to please her reverend friend. The intimacy, indeed, quickly ripened into an attachment more striking than civility; and, as the Deanry was the seat of hospitality and cheerfulness, which the worthy owner endeavoured to enliven by his liberality, he kindly invited the young officer to become an inmate in his family; which courteous offer was the more readily accepted, because, independent of the attractions which it presented, so convenient was the distance from Clogher, that no difficulty could possibly occur with respect to the proper discharge of military duty. In this happy circle the hours flew rapidly away, to the satisfaction of all parties, who were so much engaged in a round of amusements, and so entirely at their ease in all their pursuits, that not the slightest

suspicion was formed of what was passing in the hearts of the two lovers. The wound, however, which each had received at first sight, deepened by daily intercourse, and became incurable by the opportunities that perpetually offered of ascertaining their mutual sentiments, and of appreciating their respective merits. Some months were spent in this course of harmony and affection, when the cheerful scene was clouded by the recall of the young lady to her brother's seat at Ravensdale, which, though romantically beautiful, appeared now like a desert to her, who, in her journey home, drew after her a lengthened chain of delicious recollections and painful apprehensions. Her thoughts involuntarily wandered back to the delightful society from which she had been withdrawn, and a chilling fear would sometimes arise, alarming the mind with an idea that the season of bliss had passed to return no more: nor was the Deanry without its portion of similar restlessness and mental depression. The spirit which had given life to the place, and diffused joy over the social party, was gone, leaving a cheerless void behind, which no increased attentions could relieve, nor any mul-

tiplied diversions supply. This blank in an endeared society becoming daily more oppressive, and our young hero being unwilling to damp the enjoyments of others by his own uneasiness, took leave of the dean at the end of a fortnight, and bent his course to Ravensdale. On his arrival, he did not chuse to make himself known, but walked about the grounds the remainder of the day, in the expectation of seeing the genius of the place, whose magic influence had drawn him thither. He was disappointed at that time; but the day following, chance brought the lovers together quite unexpectedly, in the path of a neighbouring wood; and their mutual expressions of surprise and satisfaction having subsided, they returned to the house, where Mr. Gillespie was heartily welcomed as the particular friend of the worthy dean. Here he resided some weeks, during which, the interchange of sentiment was productive of various plans, devised in youthful ardour, for the attainment of happiness, unrestrained by the calculations of parental caution and matured experience. A private marriage was mutually agreed upon, and accordingly the eager couple proceeded on the

wings of love to Dublin, where the ceremony took place, on the twenty-fourth of November, 1786. The union remained a secret for some time; but when a return to quarters could no longer be deferred, a communication of the fact was made to the friends on both sides, and the happy pair hastened to Clogher, where they received the congratulations of their acquaintance, and spent the winter in mirth and festivity. This season of gladness, however, was of short duration, and within a few months after the marriage, a dreadful circumstance occurred, which plunged the young couple in affliction, and threatened the utter destruction of all their prospects of felicity.

The quarters being removed to the barracks of Athy, in the County of Kildare, a violent altercation there took place in the apartments of Mr. Gillespie, between two young gentlemen of his acquaintance; one, a brother officer of his regiment; and the other, a person of respectable connexions in the neighbourhood. All endeavours to bring the matter to an amicable union proving ineffectual, a meeting was fixed upon for the next morning; and what was remarkable enough,

the most ardent of the two insisted upon fighting on a particular part of his family estate. Here, accordingly, at the time appointed, the parties came, attended by their respective friends. After exchanging shots without injuring each other, it was proposed that the affair should end with a mutual declaration of satisfaction. The young man, however, who had displayed such peculiar marks of irritability on the occasion, as to chuse his own paternal domain for the scene of combat, being apparently disappointed in the bloodless result of the interview, burned with passionate fury against Mr. Gillespie, loading him with opprobrious epithets, and challenging him to fight ón the spot. This outrageous provocation was more than human nature could endure: but as Gillespie knew that his antagonist had been exercising himself some hours before in shooting at a mark, he determined that no advantage should be taken of him by this circumstance. When, therefore, he took up the gauntlet which had been so rudely and unwarrantably thrown down against him, he drew out his handkerchief, and holding it by one corner, offered the extremity to his opponent. Such was the dis-

tance and the manner in which this fatal conflict took place: but if the accustomed practice of a measured distance was departed from, in the almost certain assurance of death to one or both of the parties, there was at least this plea for the deviation—that it put them upon equal terms, which could not have been the case had the aggressor been suffered to avail himself of the superiority which he had acquired by his previous habits. Both fired at the same moment, and with such effect, that the antagonist of Gillespie was shot through the heart, while the latter escaped almost miraculously, his adversary's ball glancing aside by hitting upon a button, and inflicting only a slight wound. In this state he knelt down by the suffering victim of passion, and intreated a parting proof of reconciliation; but, instead of making any impression by this act of kindness and condescension, he had the mortification of seeing that the ruling spirit prevailed to the last, for the young man, in the agonies of death, continued to evince the utmost impatience, and his last words were, "Take him away, take him away." The survivor in this melancholy affray was so much affected by the

shocking catastrophe, that he forgot his own wound, and was regardless of the danger which he ran by remaining on the ground, till some gentlemen who were present hurried him off to a place of security. His first asylum was the glebe-house of his friend, Dean Keatinge, at Narraghmore, where he was joined by his wife, who was in a state of affliction bordering upon distraction. When the news of the affair reached Dublin, the two brothers of Mrs. Gillespie hastened down to Narraghmore, to provide for the safety of their relation till the assizes, particularly as the circumstances of the transaction were grossly misrepresented, and a reward was offered in the papers for the apprehension of the fugitive, who made the best of his way in disguise to the capital, and from thence to the house of his father at Donaghadee. To increase the distress occasioned by this tragical event, he found his aged parent in such an enfeebled state, that it was to be feared the intelligence of what had happened would cut asunder the remaining thread of life. It required, therefore, considerable caution and management, to keep the sad history a profound secret from the old gentle-

man, and even to appear cheerful in his presence. This was a hard task; and the more so, as it was natural to expect that a close search would soon take place in that neighbourhood, by those who were influenced to make it, either out of resentment, or from the desire of gain. To avoid the inconvenience of a long confinement in a county jail, our young adventurer, as we may now call him, found an excuse for his departure, and, with his wife, crossed over to Scotland, where they remained some months. On the approach of the assizes, they returned to Drogheda, from which place Mr. Gillespie went in disguise to Dublin, to arrange matters for the awful business which was to follow; and then, accompanied by his second, proceeded to Maraghmore, where they surrendered themselves, and were committed to the prison of that town, to wait the decision of their fate, according to the laws of their country. It was an affecting spectacle, to behold two young men of the most interesting appearance and connexion, standing at the bar together, on the highest of all charges that can be brought against man, that of shedding the blood of a fellow creature: but though the pri-

soners had witnesses ready in court to prove that the deceased met with his premature destruction entirely through his own rashness and intemperance, the judge and jury were so completely convinced of the fact, from the evidence for the prosecution, as to render their testimony unnecessary, and a verdict of acquittal was immediately pronounced, to the satisfaction of the whole assembly.

Much as the practice of duelling is to be reprobated, and disgraceful as the frequency of it is in a civilized country, there are particular occasions, when no alternative remains between the degradation of professional character, and the submission to an act, which is equally revolting to the feelings of sensibility, and the sober dictates of conscience. The present transaction was certainly one of this description; and though it is to be regretted that the angry passions of the parties did not meet with a moderating spirit in the persons whose duty it was to have restrained their violence, there was, at least, this melancholy consolation attending it, that every charge of wrong and provocation closed with the grave of the aggressor.

This unpleasant business having terminated to the honour of the accused, Mr. Gillespie returned to his father, who was not made acquainted with the painful history till some time afterwards: and the state of his health was such, that it was then to be feared that the shock of the intelligence would have proved fatal. Throughout the whole of the concern, our hero's mother conducted herself with uncommon fortitude and address, in providing for his security, and contriving to keep all suspicion and information of the matter from her husband. But young Mrs. Gillespie, who had even the resolution to attend the trial, and from the beginning to the end shewed a noble energy of mind, when all the trouble of concealment and apprehension of danger was over, sunk under a depression of spirits which threatened the most alarming consequences, and from which she recovered slowly, through the tender attentions of the family, and the skill of Dr. Fuller of Belfast. In 1791, Mr. Gillespie lost his father; and in July the following year he obtained the rank of lieutenant in the twentieth regiment of Light Dragoons. This advancement altered the resolution which

he had formed some time before of quitting the military life, and settling on his estate as a country gentleman; with which view the ground was actually laid out, and plans prepared for building a suitable mansion. He had been induced to do this at the request of his father, who could not endure the idea of parting with an only son, at a time when his own age and infirmities required support and relief. But when this affectionate bond of restraint was taken off, and no other check was opposed in the way of his laudable desire of active employment, and honourable elevation, he made the necessary preparations for joining his regiment at Jamaica, and, having taken a tender leave of his wife and mother at Farm Hill near Belfast, embarked for that island in the winter of 1792. On the voyage the ship touched at Madeira; but a storm coming on, she was driven out of the road, though some of the passengers, among whom was Lieutenant Gillespie, were fortunate enough, at the peril of their lives, and amidst a mountainous sea, to reach the shore in the long-boat. After beating about near three weeks, the vessel again made the island, and when refitted, proceeded

without any other delay or accident to the place of destination. But so eventful was the life of this interesting young man, that the very first night of his arrival at Jamaica he met with a misfortune, from which it seemed that nothing short of a miracle could deliver him.

The people of the house where he lodged had so little regard for humanity, as to give him a bed on which a young man died just before, in the yellow fever. He was taken ill that very night, and continued two months in a very precarious state: but though he was much reduced by the severity of the attack, the vigour of his constitution overcame the disease, and he recovered almost from the very jaws of death. During this dreadful state of uncertainty, his friends at home were suffering acutely, for, as the voyage had been long, and this tedious sickness prevented him from writing, the silence was naturally ascribed to the most awful and distressing of causes. At length, when hope had given way to a gloomy despondency, the welcome letters arrived, apprising his wife and mother of his painful illness and complete recovery.

War with the French republic becoming in-

dispensible, from the violent character and hostile acts of the ruling faction in that unhappy country, the utmost exertions were required to place our colonies in a state of defence. Jamaica, in particular, was placed in very critical circumstances, by the progress which jacobinism in its most frightful form was then making in St. Domingo. The well-disposed colonists in this last island had, some time before, made secret overtures to the British government for a union and protection; in consequence of which, private assistance was liberally given to these unhappy persons, through the humane attentions of General Williamson, who then commanded in Jamaica; but His Majesty's ministers were deeply sensible of the difficulty attending any enterprize that should have for its object an establishment in a country where the evil of pestilential disease was less to be dreaded than the revolutionary frenzy which had begun to operate in the minds of the black population. Still the security of our own valuable settlements in the neighbourhood called for some measures to keep the republican influence in check, and to prevent, as far as possible, the

spreading of an insurrectional contagion throughout our colonies. This necessity being admitted, it is to be lamented that the means employed were not of a magnitude proportioned to the urgency of the case, and the gallantry of those who engaged in this hazardous undertaking; among whom, Lieutenant Gillespie was one of the first to volunteer his services with the infantry; his own regiment still remaining for the defence of Jamaica. At this period, two republican commissioners, Santhonax and Polverel, held the executive government of St. Domingo: and such was the desperate policy of these infuriated characters, that when they were apprized of the intended invasion, a proclamation appeared, in their names, announcing the full and unqualified emancipation of all the negroes. There can be no doubt but that this was a hollow artifice, calculated, by setting the slaves at liberty, to inflame their passions against those planters who were actuated by moderate principles, and who retained a proper respect for ancient institutions. It was well known, that many of these persons were so inimical to the new doctrines which brought in tyranny and

murder under the specious pretext of liberty and equality, that in the event of an expedition from Jamaica, they would be disposed rather to welcome the English as deliverers, than to resist them as enemies. The commissioners, therefore, who had not the smallest feeling for the true interests of the colony, nor any real design to promote the welfare of the blacks, resolved to give freedom and arms to the latter, that, in the end, they might succeed in the subjugation and ruin of both. Such was the state of St. Domingo when the armament from Jamaica arrived on its coast; but, notwithstanding the combination of difficulties which were to be encountered, possession was taken of the town and harbour of Jeremie on the twentieth of September, 1793, and of the mole of Cape St. Nicholas two days afterwards. So auspicious a beginning occasioned general exultation and confidence among the troops, which, however, met with a depression in the failure of an attempt upon Tiburon, the capture of which place was deemed of importance, on account of its proximity to Jamaica. In consequence of this repulse, the expedition returned to Jeremie,

there to wait for an increase of strength, which it received in the middle of January, by the arrival of the twentieth regiment, part of the forty-ninth, and the first battalion of the Royals. During this interval, the command of a troop had been conferred upon Mr. Gillespie, who, in that capacity, acted under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Spencer, at the second, and more fortunate attempt on Tiburon; which, in spite of a very obstinate resistance, was carried in the most gallant style on the third of February; and by this capture, an extensive line of coast, comprising several important positions and harbours, came into the hands of the British. The arrival of a fresh accession of forces, commanded by Brigadier-General Whyte, on the nineteenth of May, cheered the prospects of the old colonists, by invigorating the efforts of their friends and allies, who were determined to venture an attack without delay upon Port-au-Prince, which had been for a considerable time blockaded by the squadron under Commodore Ford. Previous, however, to the assault, it was thought proper to send a flag of truce to the commissioner, Santhonax, demanding a surrender of the

place. The mission, from the character of the man, was dangerous, but it was readily undertaken by Captain Gillespie, and Captain Rowley of the navy, both of whom were fired at in attempting to swim to the shore, with their swords in their mouths. They, however, landed without being injured, but were made prisoners, and hurried before the governor, who had so little respect for the customary usages of civilized warfare, as to charge these gallant officers with being spies, and threatening in that splenetic mood to put them to death. In this critical moment, the subject of the present memoir perceived some emblem of freemasonry about the person of the commissioner, or one of his attendants; and being himself a member of that fraternity, a sudden thought occurred to him, of making one of the signs peculiar to the order, and that in a way which could not be overlooked by the irritated republican. The intimation being luckily understood, an instantaneous change took place in the countenance and deportment of the governor, who behaved with the greatest respect to the two officers; and, though he gave a positive refusal to their de-

mand, he ordered a sumptuous repast to be prepared for their refreshment. From his preceding conduct, they were apprehensive of some treacherous design, and declined the entertainment; on which, Santhonax, who guessed the motive, immediately began to eat and drink, to convince them that their fears were groundless. Being satisfied by this action, that no injury was intended under this appearance of courtesy and hospitality, both gentlemen gladly accepted the invitation; after which, they were conveyed to the port, and conducted in a boat to the squadron. On the evening of the thirty-first, the strong fort of Bizotton, commanding the carriage road leading from Leogane to Port-au-Prince, was carried by assault, amidst a tremendous thunder-storm, and while the rain poured down in torrents upon the assailants, who were thus compelled to rely solely upon the bayonet. In this attack, Captain Gillespie bore a distinguished part, as he afterwards did in that which put Fort de l'Hopital in our possession, where the combatants had a narrow escape with their lives, the commissioners having caused a train of powder to be laid from a

thicket outside the fort, and reaching to the magazine, with the intention of blowing up the besieged and the besiegers. Fortunately, this iniquitous plan was rendered abortive by the preceding tempest; in consequence of which, the train became wet, and the horrible sacrifice was prevented. The fall of the capital being thus secured, the British took immediate possession, and found in the harbour a number of vessels richly laden; but a far greater booty had been carried off by the commissioners, who, contemplating the capture of the place as certain, loaded two hundred mules with the most valuable riches, which they succeeded in carrying to the northern part of the island, and from thence to Europe, by the way of America. With the acquisition of Port-au-Prince, our dominion in St. Domingo may be said to have attained its height, and the flattering expectations of the brave men employed there to have received a fearful change. From this period their efforts slackened, and the hopes of the colonists were in consequence turned into a state of gloomy despondency. To add to the evil, the yellow fever began to make a shocking havock

among the Europeans, and many excellent officers fell victims to its pestilential influence. Captain Gillespie also suffered much from the effects of his wounds, the excessive fatigue which he had undergone, and the enfeebled state of his constitution in that unhealthy clime. Availing himself, therefore, of the temporary suspension of operations, he obtained leave of absence to visit England, as well to recruit his health, as to arrange some domestic affairs which required his presence. On the passage home from Jamaica, the ship was wrecked in the Channel, and he lost all his baggage, in which destitute condition he reached London in October, 1794, where his wife joined him soon afterwards, and they returned to Ireland. After spending some months with his excellent mother, and selling an estate, Captain Gillespie went with his lady through Scotland and England, for health and amusement. At the close of the following year he proceeded to Cork, in order to embark again for the West Indies, as Brigade-Major to the staff of Major-General Wilford, under whom he originally entered the service, when that officer had the command of

the carabineers. While the transports collected at Cork were detained by bad weather and contrary winds, Captain Gillespie went one evening to the theatre, where an unpleasant disturbance arose, occasioned by the obstinate disaffection of some of the audience, in refusing to stand uncovered at the singing of the national ode of "God save the King." One of these refractory persons happened to sit next to our hero, who, being warmed into a zealous fit of resentment at his insufferable insolence, took off his hat without ceremony. This, naturally enough, produced an altercation and a scuffle, in the course of which, the man was very roughly handled; and what was worse, the bridge of his nose was demolished in the fray. If the mortification occasioned by this injury to his person was great, it was heightened to the excess of desperation by the loss of his mistress, to whom he was about to be married, but who altered her mind on the report of this defeat and its consequence. The disappointed lover, upon this, made inquiry after his antagonist, and having ascertained his name and lodging, ob-

tained a warrant for his apprehension. But as a detention to answer the charge would have been more inconvenient than the fear of the result, the captain prudently accepted an invitation from Sir Thomas Roberts, of Prittlestown, to reside at his house till the time of embarkation. After thus eluding a search on shore for some days, he went to the ship in the disguise of a soldier's wife; and so completely was the character assumed, that when the officers visited the vessel to make a search, they had not the least suspicion of the metamorphosis, especially as the object of their inquiry had an infant in his arms when they came to look for him.

This anecdote may perhaps appear to some readers as too trivial and ludicrous for insertion in the memoir of such a man; but if it be considered that the genuine character of a public person is always best ascertained by the knowledge of those incidents which shew his temper and energy in casual circumstances, the present one will be found of sufficient imimportance, as it displays the inherent loyalty of this gallant officer, a virtue which may be

truly said to have animated him throughout life, and to have given, in no small degree, a chivalrous and romantic cast to his actions.

The detention at Cork was so remarkably long and tedious, that the troops were obliged to be disembarked, and placed in temporary barracks on Spike Island, in that harbour, where they suffered severely from disease, and numbers of valuable lives were lost. At length, the expedition, which was commanded by General Abercrombie, sailed for the object of destination, which was the capture of the French islands in the West Indies; but, owing to the weak state of our force, only that of St. Lucia was then taken. After that conquest, a division under General Wilford proceeded to Cape St. Nicholas, in St. Domingo, which General Forbes, by his able management, maintained against the enemy, who were kept at a respectable distance. On the twenty-fifth of December, 1796, Captain Gillespie was promoted to a majority in his regiment; and in the following spring he was particularly distinguished by General Simco, on his arrival from England to

take the command of the British forces in that quarter. Immediately on his landing at the mole, the general proceeded to inspect the condition of the troops, and the positions which they occupied: and in this inquiry, he derived considerable assistance from the information of Major Gillespie, whose penetrating eye pervaded every weakness, while his active genius was always fruitful of resources. It had been his constant object, from the first moment that he set foot on the island, to make himself acquainted with its local varieties, with the sole view of ascertaining the advantages to which they might be applied: and this he was the better enabled to do, from his intimacy with Colonel de Charmilly, who was a native of the place, and who possessed considerable plantations there, but which, in consequence of his open loyalty, were seized by the republican faction. The friendship which subsisted between this gentleman and the major was equally sincere on both sides, as it resulted from the purest motives; for both were brave, frank, and liberal, aiming only to discharge

their duty, and regardless of the sacrifices which they were compelled to make for the public good.

The unremitting energy, the amiable qualities, and superior discernment of Major Gillespie, could not be overlooked by General Simco, who placed an entire confidence in his judgment and activity, particularly in the defence of Port-au-Prince, when that capital became the object of attack. As the black forces were very formidable, in point of number, courage, and skill, it was deemed adviseable to concentrate the British strength, and to abandon many of the works which had been erected there, with more labour and expense than utility. At this time, the enemy were commanded by the celebrated Toussaint L'Ouverture, one of those rare characters who spring up in revolutionary periods, and gain an ascendency over their confederates by the superiority of their talents, or the influence of their virtues. Toussaint had the peculiar merit of deserving the confidence reposed in him, as much by the excellence of his private character, as by his personal bravery and mili-

tary judgment. Such was the chief with whom the British had now to contend in St. Domingo, after a struggle of three years, at the end of which the extent of our possessions in the island consisted of the capital, and the line of coast that had been secured in the primary stage of the enterprize. But Port-au-Prince was now menaced, in its turn, by the black forces, who were suffered to erect several batteries, and to accumulate in considerable numbers before the place, the fall of which they fully anticipated. In this confident expectation, however, they were disappointed by a sudden and vigorous assault, which ended in the complete destruction of their works, and precipitate retreat of Toussaint to Gonave. In all these operations, and in several others, Major Gillespie bore a leading part, with so much satisfaction, as to draw from General Simco a warm expression of praise at the time, and, some years afterwards, the declaration, that it was his intention, if he had continued there, to have employed him in the most confidential manner. The return of that officer to

Europe, in August, 1797, put an end to this resolution; but his successor, General Whyte, who was as ready to distinguish extraordinary merit as competent to discern it, conferred upon the major the honourable situation of deputy adjutant-general. Before the expiration of the year, that officer quitted the island, and was succeeded by General Nesbit, who, dying shortly afterwards, his place was filled up by the Honourable General Maitland, who arrived at Port-au-Prince in April, 1798. The aspect of affairs was now gloomy in the extreme; and the occupancy of the capital being no longer secure, it was delivered up, together with the dependencies, on the most honourable terms, and such as could not have been hoped for in the state of things to which the English were reduced. A truce for a month was entered into with Toussaint, who engaged also to protect inviolably the persons and property of all the inhabitants, without any distinction. Having terminated this important business, the English general proceeded with the troops to the mole of Cape St. Nicholas, there to wait the final arrangements for a

total evacuation of the island. In these negociations, which were attended with circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and even danger, the only person upon whom the commander-in-chief could finally depend was Major Gillespie; but though this gallant officer conducted the charge with which he was entrusted far beyond the ideas or hopes of his employer, which the general manifested by embracing and thanking him on his return, strange it is to say, that, in the official communication dispatched to government, all the merit of the transaction, which ensured the safety of the English and their friends, was attributed to another, and the name of the real negociator passed over in silence. This was not the only injury which he sustained in that difficult service; for, besides the depression of spirits occasioned by the premature death of many of his most intimate friends, through the unhealthiness of the climate, he had a narrow escape for his life from assassination.

One night he was roused from a profound sleep by the cries of murder, on hearing which, he ran down stairs with his sword, and found

his servant boy dreadfully mangled, his arm being nearly severed at the shoulder. The villains, who were no less than eight men, of different nations, immediately on the appearance of the major made a desperate attack upon him, which he repelled with such effect as to lay six of the assailants dead at his feet, whose fate so appalled the other two, that they cried for quarter, and retreated; but in going off, one of the wretches turned suddenly round, and fired, with an aim that had nearly proved fatal, as the shot grazed the temple, and carried away part of the hair. The report quickly brought up the patrole, who were astonished at the horrible scene of carnage below stairs, and naturally expected to find a more dreadful one in the bed-room of the major, whom they found lying in a fainting state, and bleeding to death. Medical aid being speedily procured, this brilliant ornament of his profession was snatched from the jaws of the grave, though his recovery was slow; and the effects of the wounds which he received in this unequal conflict, added to the fatigue and anxiety endured by him in that arduous

service, were felt during the remainder of his life. That life, however, was providentially preserved for the public good, and to acquire immortal fame on a wider scale, in other regions. The relation of this romantic instance of personal valour spread rapidly throughout the neighbouring islands, and was conveyed to Europe, having, according to custom, some additions, one of which was, that the major died of his wounds. This embellishment had the unhappy effect of shocking the enfeebled frame and agitated nerves of his affectionate mother to such a degree, that before the contradiction of the report could minister the balm of consolation to her spirit, it had sought relief from sorrow in another and a better world.

Our venerable sovereign was very sensibly affected by the narrative of this extraordinary circumstance; and so strong was the impression of it upon his memory, that when our hero was afterwards presented at the levee, as Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, the king instantly surveyed his comparatively diminutive stature with an expression of benignant surprise, and said, "What, can it be possible that this little man is the per-

son who performed so great an exploit in St. Domingo?"

Of the motives which prompted the murderers' attempt upon the life of this brave officer, and generous man, it is difficult to form an opinion, since his conduct in that island had gained him the general esteem of the colonists, and the respect of those to whom he was opposed in arms. But it is probable that either the expectation of gain, or resentment, occasioned by his success as a negociator, in securing private property from plunder, drew upon the major the malevolent notice and sanguinary designs of these miscreants.

When his health was sufficiently restored to bear the voyage, he embarked for Jamaica, where he resumed the command of his regiment; and though unknown, except to military men, and unconnected with every person in the island, he soon acquired that popularity which rarely fails to reward good discipline and suavity of manners. The high estimation in which he was held by the inhabitants, appears from a message sent to the House of Assembly by the lieutenant-governor, in the year 1799, and the resolution that was adopted in consequence of it, which,

as extracted from the minutes of the House itself, will sufficiently convey the sense entertained of the regiment, and of its commander. These documents were as follows:

"Mr. Speaker,

"I am commanded by his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, to lay before the House, that every regiment of dragoons in the British service, the twentieth, or Jamaica regiment of light dragoons, excepted, has on its establishment two lieutenant-colonels.

"That it appears to his Honor, that the appointment of a second lieutenant-colonel to the twentieth light dragoons would be of very essential service, as it would at all times secure the presence of a field-officer with the regiment.

"That the commission of first lieutenant-colonel is filled by a general officer on the staff, who, consequently, cannot join his regiment.

"That the regiment being stationary in the island, it seems expedient that the establishment of field-officers not be less than that of other regiments, who are not exposed to the inconvenience of a tropical climate.

"That his Honor, representing the utility of

having a second lieutenant-colonel, has much pleasure in reflecting, if the House should be pleased to be of the same opinion, and to provide for the expense accordingly, that the nomination may actually fall on Major Gillespie, an officer who was promoted in it on its original formation, and who has served with distinguished credit in various high situations. That the pay necessary to be voted for the accomplishment of this object, if the House should so approve it, is four hundred and forty-seven pounds, two shillings, and sixpence, sterling, per annum.

" That his Honor, therefore, submits it to the consideration of the House."

On receiving this communication from the governor, it was " ordered, that the above message be referred to the committee of the whole House, to inquire into, and take further into consideration the state of the island."

The result of the inquiry by the committee was a resolution framed and recorded in these terms :

" That it be recommended to the House to send a message to his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, informing him, that if His Majesty

shall graciously be pleased to appoint a second lieutenant-colonel to the twentieth, or Jamaica regiment of light dragoons, the House will provide for the expenses thereof; and to assure his Honor, that the House, being sensible of the care and attention of Major Gillespie to the health and discipline of the regiment since it has been under his command, contemplate with satisfaction the probability that an officer who has served with distinguished credit, in various high situations, will be advanced to professional rank: and that they hope the promotion to take place in the twentieth light dragoons may be extended to the officers of the said regiment, to which they are so justly entitled by their long services in this island."

Flattering as these testimonies were to the professional merits of this excellent officer, the pleasure afforded by them was heightened by the circumstance, that while the memorial to His Majesty, conveying the wishes of the inhabitants of Jamaica was on its passage, government at home had already made the very appointment which was requested. On the twenty-first of November, 1799, the commission of lieute-

nant-colonel was granted to Major Gillespie, in the room of Major-General Churchill, promoted; while Major Jones received the appointment, at the same time, of second lieutenant-colonel.

A few months after this elevation, the late Lord Hugh Seymour, admiral and commander-in-chief on the West India station, who was the particular friend of our hero, offered him the military command of Curacoa; but his Excellency Lord Belcarras, the governor of Jamaica, delicately refused his consent to the removal of the colonel, by observing, "that he could not spare him." About the same time, the late General Knox, proceeding on a secret expedition, appointed the lieutenant-colonel quarter-master-general; but the satisfaction resulting from this mark of attention, bestowed by so good an officer and judge of merit, soon afterwards received a sad depression in the loss of that valuable man by shipwreck.

On the conclusion of the peace of Amiens with the French consular government, the services of the colonel and his regiment being no longer required in the West Indies, prepara-

tions were made for their return to Europe: and previous to their departure from the island, the most honourable marks of distinction were bestowed upon them by the local authorities, and by those best qualified, from experience, to appreciate the merits of the regiment and its commander.

House of Assembly.

December 9, 1801.

Resolved,

That the following message be sent to his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

May it please your Honor,

We are ordered by the House to wait on your Honor, and to express the high sense they entertain of the merits and uniform good conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of the twentieth regiment of light dragoons, during their long residence in this island.

Ordered, that Mr. Whitehorne and Mr. Hering be a committee to wait on his Honor

with the above message; who, returning, reported the delivering thereof.

True extract from the journals, &c.

(Signed) F. Smith,
Clerk of the Assembly.

Spanish Town, December 10, 1801.

Sir,

I have the honor to inclose you a vote of the House of Assembly passed yesterday, in testimony of your conduct as commanding officer of the twentieth light dragoons, which I beg to assure you gives me peculiar pleasure.

Inclosed also are extracts from the journals of the House, respecting the regiment itself, which are, no doubt, equally acceptable to you.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

(Signed) F. Smith,
Clerk of the Assembly.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie.

King's House, June 16, 1802.

Sir,

I take great pleasure in transmitting to you a message which I have received from the House

of Assembly, expressing sentiments of the good conduct of the twentieth light dragoons, under your command, which do great honour to the corps, and which I request that you will communicate to them.

I am, Sir,

With sincere regard,

Your faithful,

And obedient servant,

(Signed) G. NUGENT.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie.

(Copy)

Message of the House of Assembly at Jamaica, to the Lieutenant-Governor.

December 9, 1801.

May it please your Honor,

We are ordered by the House to wait on your Honor, and to express the high sense they entertain of the merits and uniform good conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of the twentieth regiment of light dragoons, during their long residence in this island.

House of Assembly.

December 9, 1801.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*,

That the Receiver-General be authorised to pay to the order of Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie the sum of one hundred guineas, to be by him expended in the purchase of a sword, as a testimony of the highest esteem with which his conduct is regarded by the House.

True extract from the journals.

F. Smith, Clerk of the Assembly.

It may be proper also to insert in this place the declaration of Major-General Edward Churchill, who, as having been the Colonel of the twentieth regiment of light dragoons, before the alteration which took place in the appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, must have been fully acquainted with the professional merits and private excellencies of the person to whom he bore this honourable testimony :

" I first of all knew Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie in the island of St. Domingo, and afterwards in Jamaica, for seven years, during the whole of which time, a more active, brave,

and generous officer, I never had the honour to command. In St. Domingo, before he came under my command, he acted as Adjutant-General, during which time he gave the most convincing proofs of his bravery, by volunteering to take the command of the attack of at least two forts, which he stormed and took. Afterwards, in Jamaica, as it was my duty, I reviewed his regiment twice, and had no fault to find; but, on the contrary, every thing was perfect. I likewise visited the hospital, which was in a most perfect state. Every part of the discipline of the regiment was most studiously carried on. His general character, throughout the whole island, was universally good."

Such was the judgment formed of the value of this gallant and active officer, by one who had the best means of ascertaining it correctly; and in this estimate of the worth of the colonel, all who were competent from personal observation to deliver an opinion, most decidedly concurred. But "envy will merit as its shade pursue," and, from this tax upon human virtue, the subject of the present memoir could not look to be exempted. He might, however,

have safely defied malice itself to allege any thing against his official conduct; and, yet so strangely are some minds constituted, as to fasten with venemous fangs upon that part of a character which is most pure and irreproachable. This happened to be the case with Colonel Gillespie, at the close of his long and laborious services in the West Indies. In the month of August, 1800, Major Allen Cameron came from England to join the regiment; but, during the nine months of his residence on the island, he did duty only between two and three months, being the rest of the time either absent on leave, or returned as sick. That a person so little informed with respect to the economy of a regiment, locally constructed and maintained as that was to which he belonged, should have made it his immediate business to act the part of an informer against his commanding officer, indicated a disposition little accordant with the high principles which ought to animate every member of the military profession. Instead, however, of studying his own duties, and devoting himself with becoming zeal and attention to the discharge of it, in a liberal co-opera-

tion with his associates, the major, even by the statement which he afterwards publicly made, took the first opportunity that offered of sowing dissention in the regiment, by exciting suspicions of malversation in the conduct of his superior. But, as the envious are sometimes too cunning for themselves, and are apt, by shooting beyond the mark, to bring their own motives and actions under inspection, so it was in the present instance.

The major, who was fresh from England, did not wait long enough to become thoroughly acquainted with the anomalous constitution of the corps in which he served, before he ventured to insinuate that there was any thing wrong in its mechanism or direction; but of his own motion, at the very outset, resolved to discover, if possible, some matter which might be moulded into a serious charge, that, by supplanting another, he might elevate himself. It is impossible to account for his temerity on any other ground: and it is established, beyond question, by his return to England, where, immediately on his arrival, he laid his complaints on the subject of the bad state of

the regiment, and corrupt practices in its government, before the colonel, Lord Heathfield. But not meeting with the willing ear and encouragement that he expected, the major returned again to Jamaica; and such was his candour, that immediately on his arrival, he communicated his accusations to General Nugent, the commander-in-chief. Here, also, he experienced that repulse of dignified silence which ought to have produced cool and serious reflection; but instead of reviewing, with strictness, his own conduct, and examining with candour that of the man whom he was endeavouring to ruin, he repeated his charge, in a second letter, to his excellency General Nugent, who paid the same respect to it that he had done to the former. The contempt thus cast upon his allegations in a quarter where they could be best appreciated, and where, if plausible, they could at once have produced a rigid investigation, might have taught the informer a lesson of caution. Instead of this, he continued his enquiries by letters, and otherwise courting intelligence from various persons, that the same might be turned

to the disadvantage of the Lieutenant-Colonel, and the furtherance of his own views. As these insidious attempts to undermine his reputation could not be concealed from the former, and as some parts of the major's conduct in the business were subversive of all discipline, the latter in his turn was made the object of a prosecution on the charges of sedition and mutiny. Though acquitted by the general court-martial of the matter in charge, enough appeared to call for reprehension in having written an imprudent letter against his commanding officer to the paymaster of the regiment. Thus the harmony which had prevailed so long in the corps as to render it a model of imitation, was broken by the unjust ambition and meddling spirit of an individual who had never shared any of its toil or danger.

In the autumn of 1802 the colonel landed with his regiment, consisting of three hundred effective men, at Portsmouth; and, after a minute inspection by the general who commanded in that district, the condition of the corps was reported to His Royal Highness the Duke of York as being in the highest state of

order and discipline. This honourable attestation was accompanied by a particular compliment to the commander, on the very extraordinary circumstance of having brought his regiment to Europe, not only strong in number, but in perfect health, after a long and arduous service in an unfavourable climate. Such a testimony, which, at any time, must have been gratifying to the feelings of an officer, on returning to his native land, could not but be peculiarly consolatory in the present instance, wounded as those feelings were by the insidious arts and repeated calumnies of a disappointed but restless enemy. The gratitude of the inhabitants of Jamaica, the approbation of the commander-in-chief on that island, and the admiration produced by the appearance of the regiment after a long voyage, and undergoing much severe service, altogether formed a decisive confutation of that slander, which nothing but ignorance could have imagined or malevolence have uttered. But the triumph which the cause of truth obtained in these public marks of distinction from authorities most competent to form a correct judgment, and too elevated as

well as unconnected to bestow gratuitous praise without a conviction of its being merited, could neither repress the spirit of envy, nor frustrate its machinations.

The same unjustifiable enmity, carried on in the same dark and undermining manner, followed the colonel to England, where the most studied arts were employed to prejudice him in the opinion of those with whom it was his natural wish to stand as unsullied as he did in his own upright mind. It was impossible that these aspersions could be altogether concealed from his knowledge, and therefore, with that lively sensibility which conscious integrity ever manifests under the slightest imputation of wrong, the colonel was most anxious to submit his conduct to public investigation. But the more he sought inquiry, the more was he mortified, in finding, that while attempts were made to lower him in the estimation of the service, without any just cause, still, every art and contrivance were adopted by delay to prevent him from clearing his character before a competent tribunal. The obvious course which the love of justice would have dictated in such a

case was that of preferring specific grounds of complaint against the accused party to the commander-in-chief, immediately on the arrival of the regiment from Jamaica, and when the business might have been examined with the least difficulty, in regard to expense and evidence. Instead of this, while defamation continued its work, to the injury of the lieutenant-colonel in his circumstances, and more so of his peace of mind, he was compelled to endure two years of anxious suspense before a court-martial was appointed to decide upon the allegations that had been exhibited with so much industry to his disadvantage. At length the warrant for a court-martial to be held was signed on the second of June, 1804, and on the twenty-ninth of the same month the proceedings commenced at Colchester, before the following officers.

PRESIDENT,

THE HON. MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN HOPE.

Major-General Henry Lord Paget.

Brigadier-General John Robinson.

Colonel John Slade, 1st or Royal Dragoons.

Lieutenant-Colonel James Stewart, 2nd Battalion 42nd Regiment.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Walhouse, 7th Light Dragoons

Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Cerjet, 1st or Royal Dragoons

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Campbell, 1st Battalion 42nd Regiment.

Major John Gordon, 1st Battalion 92nd Regiment.

Major John Cameron, 1st Battalion 92nd Regiment.

Major Lawrence Henry Newton, Royal Artillery.

Major Richard Hussey Vivian, 7th Light Dragoons.

Major Edward Kerrison, 7th Light Dragoons.

Major John Farquharson, 1st Battalion 42nd Regiment.

Major Amos Godsil Norcott, 95th Regiment.

Captain Archibald Morrison, West Norfolk Militia, Deputy Judge Advocate.

His Majesty's warrant being read, the charge exhibited against the prisoner, and to which he pleaded not guilty, was read as follows:

"Issuing false returns in the island of Jamaica, when he, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Rollo Gillespie commanded the twentieth regiment of light dragoons, and thereby obtaining monthly, for the following period, viz. from the twenty-fifth day of November, 1800, to the twenty-fourth day of October, 1801,

both days inclusive, allowances for men stated to belong to the said regiment, then under his command, beyond the effective strength thereof in the said island; and likewise obtaining, from the twenty-fifth day of November, 1800, to the twenty-fifth day of December, 1801, inclusive, allowances for commissioned and non-commissioned officers and quarter-masters belonging to the said regiment, then under his command, beyond the allowances they were entitled to receive for the above period."

This charge having been stated, Major Allen Cameron, the prosecutor, entered, at great length, into the grounds of his original suspicion, the steps which he took in consequence of it, and the correspondence that had taken place between himself and the high military authorities whose province it was to institute an inquiry on the subject.

In the course of his speech, the prosecutor endeavoured to impress upon the court a persuasion that he was reluctantly compelled to appear as the accuser of his superior officer, by the express commands of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief." But whatever unwillingness

the major might have felt in the latter stage of the business, to proceed in the public investigation of the charges which he had so long circulated against the lieutenant-colonel, it was evident, from the very documents which were produced, that the only command imposed upon him was to substantiate what he had advanced, or to abide the consequences. After having for so long a period, and in various ways, endeavoured to destroy the reputation of another officer, it was not to be endured that he should be suffered to let the matter drop, and thus prevent the accused party from obtaining strict and impartial justice. The compulsion, therefore, which the prosecutor alleged as an apology for his coming forward in that character, was the reverse of a distinction conferred in the way of sanction of his conduct; neither could it be considered as implying any thing to the disadvantage of the colonel.

The whole was intended to enable the latter to repel, in the most public and explicit manner, the allegations which had been so industriously and repeatedly circulated to his injury, both in Jamaica and in England; while, at the same time, with an equal regard to justice, this re-

quisition was calculated to give the prosecutor every opportunity of making good what he had so peremptorily maintained. The court sat, by adjournments, from Friday, June the twenty-ninth, to the seventeenth of July; and, at the several sittings, a number of witnesses belonging to the regiment were examined, and the accounts thereof particularly investigated; from all of which, as well as from the testimony of various officers who had served in Jamaica, it appeared, to the satisfaction of the court, that the matters averred to have been wrong were not only warranted by the usage of the service in that quarter, but were necessary to the benefit of that particular corps, and humanely adopted for the comfort of the sick. It was proved, beyond contradiction, that the regiment was in the best regulated state while in that island, and this was moreover shewn to have arisen from the personal attentions of its commander there; and, among other particulars, to the very liberal allowances which were at the present time adduced as grounds of accusation against him. Colonel Jones, who had been major of the regiment previous to the prosecutor, and who,

therefore, was perfectly competent to judge of the manner in which it was conducted, made this open declaration: "To the best of my judgment, as an officer, I always conceived the duty of the twentieth light dragoons carried on in a most correct manner; and Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, under whom I had the honor to serve, I always found, in his situation as commanding officer, a most zealous, persevering person, in whatever concerned the good of His Majesty's service, and the regiment under his command. Indeed, it appeared to me that he made it his utmost study to pay every attention to the welfare of the men, in a country where the badness of the climate required it so much."

Lieutenant-Colonel Brisbane, then of the sixty-ninth regiment, who had served several years in the West Indies, gave this testimony of what he had observed in the conduct of the twentieth light dragoons:

"I have seen them with great pleasure and satisfaction, as their interior economy far surpassed any thing I had seen in the West Indies: I therefore derived much local information from them. Having resided there so long, I had the

greater opportunity of observing them, as, I may say, we both occupied one barrack. The twentieth dragoons had the rooms above, and we below." With respect to the management of the hospital, and the treatment of the sick in the same regiment, the same officer gave this honourable testimony:

"I had frequently an opportunity of observing the hospital, having been frequently in it myself, and I never saw an hospital in such perfect good order: with respect to the convalescents, I have seen every attention paid to them, by their being sent to the most healthy situations that could be discovered in the neighbourhood of Spanish Town. I have seen as far as six or seven living at Colonel Gillespie's house for change of air; and I conceive a change of air in that country, for a convalescent, every thing."

General Coote Manningham, being questioned by Colonel Gillespie as follows: "Having had the honour of serving on the staff with you, when adjutant-general in St. Domingo, I request you may have the goodness to inform the court what your opinion was in respect to me," replied in these words: "Lieutenant-Colonel

Gillespie was brigade-major to General Wilford, at the time I was adjutant-general to the forces in St. Domingo. I always looked upon him as an active, zealous officer, most strongly affected to the good of His Majesty's service; and, as spoken of by all the army, at the time I was in St Domingo, as an officer of uncommon gallantry." To the same effect was the testimony of Brigadier-General Stewart, of the ninety-fifth regiment, who had served with the colonel in St. Domingo: but what ought to be regarded as the proudest trophy in the triumph which the character of the latter gained at this affecting period, was the evidence of those who served under him, at the very time when the alleged extravagance or peculation was said to have occurred, in regard to the allowances for the hospital and the sick. The quarter-master being asked whether, when particular things were scarce in the island, they were not supplied from the house of the colonel, replied in the affirmative; adding, " I further know, that Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie acted to the soldiers under his command like a tender parent to his children." Mr. Walker, surgeon of the

thirty-ninth regiment, who had been assistant surgeon to the twentieth light dragoons, during the periods of the charge, bore this evidence to the management of the hospital:

"The utmost economy was observed, consistent with the welfare of the sick men. The surgeon on visiting the hospital in the morning filled up the diet table, and pointed out the things he supposed necessary, which things were procured by the purveyor. The hospital book was made up weekly, and inspected by the surgeon, and if found correct, was signed by him, and sent to the commanding officer for his inspection: it also underwent the inspection of the surgeon of the forces once a-month." This gentleman farther observed, in answer to a question whether the regiment was not more liberally supplied than any other in that quarter, that "he believed it was so, since he observed, at his first arrival, a material difference between the hospital of the twentieth light dragoons and any other he had attended; adding, also, that the circumstance charged against the colonel, of permitting the regiment to draw allowances as they were wanted, was of the greatest

benefit, and that many lives were preserved by their being so liberally supplied with comforts necessary to their situation." In this opinion, both with respect to the economy of the regiment, and the excellence of its commander, he was supported by the testimony of the surgeon of the sixty-ninth regiment, who, being interrogated, whether he had an opportunity of observing the manner in which the hospital of the twentieth light dragoons was conducted, replied: "I had. The hospital was conducted in as proper a manner as I have seen in the island of Jamaica, or any part of the West Indies that I have been in, and the sick attended to with as much humanity as possible. The surgeon of the twentieth light dragoons had the unlimited power of giving any necessary article for their comfort: they likewise gave *stock*, a wine, that was rather dear in that country, and which was not generally adopted by other hospitals in that island." Thus it was proved by the strongest of all evidence, that the allowances for the sick, which were alleged to have exceeded the regulations of the service, and to have been misapplied, resulted from the most

exalted motives, and were directed for the best of purposes.

On such a foundation alone the defence might have rested, for it was the one laid down by the prosecutor himself, who, in bringing this charge, prepared an arena for the display, not only of the innocence, but the humanity of the accused. The latter, however, very properly conceived it to be his duty, as evil reports had been so busily circulated, for the purpose of staining his moral character, to lay before the court letters from various officers of the highest rank and reputation, who were well acquainted with his deportment. These interesting documents are of so much value in themselves, and do so much honour to the writers, as well as to the person in whose favour they were composed, that it would be improper to omit them in the present memoir.

My dear Gillespie,

I feel very sincere grief at the very unpleasant and disagreeable situation in which you are at present placed; for though I am thoroughly

convinced you possess all the qualities necessary to constitute an officer and a gentleman; yet, I find by your letter that you have not escaped unmerited censure. I mean to go to London shortly; but I fear I shall not arrive time enough to bear personal testimony of the high opinion I entertain of you; for I can of truth assert, that when you left the carabineers you were a gentleman of most unblemished reputation; and, since that period, I never heard any thing to your disadvantage; on the contrary, many officers of high rank, who served with you, bestowed great praises on your courage and good conduct; and I can safely say, that you were loved, esteemed, and respected, by all the officers of the carabineers under my command.

I am,

With great regard and esteem,

Your very faithful friend and servant,

ARTHUR ORMSBY,

Lieutenant-Colonel, Carabineers,
and Major-General.

Dublin, April 18, 1804.

Exeter, June 28, 1804.

Sir,

I had written to you before I was favoured with your last letter; but, lest my letter should miscarry, I have great pleasure in assuring you that I should certainly have complied with your request, did not my public avocations prevent me, and attended in person at the general court-martial, for the purpose of stating the high estimation I held you, both as a gentleman, and as a gallant and most zealous officer, during my command in St. Domingo; and, that had I returned thither, it was my intention to have employed you in the most confidential manner.

I am, with great truth,

Your very faithful servant,

J. G. Simco,

Lieutenant-General.

Dear Gillespie,

On my return from an excursion in attending His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, I was favoured with your's of the eighth of September, and am sorry to learn you are likely to be

troubled, from so base motives, with a court-martial. I can with much truth assert, that in vigilance, activity, and conduct, none in the army under my command exceeded you. I appointed you deputy adjutant-general; and, on every occasion, where gallantry and the good officer was wanted, I rested secure in the proper execution of the enterprize. I valued you much as an officer, and esteemed you as a gentleman and friend; and shall be at all times happy in giving you that support your conduct and behaviour so well entitle you to from me and all your friends; and request you will believe me, with esteem and respect,

Your's, very faithfully,

JOHN WHYTE.

Walburton House, Arundel,
September 17, 1803.

Falmouth, June 23, 1804.

My dear Gillespie,

I congratulate you on the prospect of a speedy termination of your most uncomfortable suspense; and assure you, I should with pleasure have attended in person at Colchester, had not both duty and ill health placed insuperable

obstacles in the way. I hope and trust, however, what I now write will be received as the genuine sentiments I have entertained of you invariably, since the first commencement of our acquaintance; and I cannot but think, twenty years experience of your character entitles me to attention, when I speak of you, not only as an officer, but as a man.

Your present situation will excuse my taking a method, under other circumstances, certainly objectionable; I mean that of addressing to yourself sentiments that might, with more delicacy, have been communicated through the medium of a third person: in the present instance, however, I doubt much how far such a testimony would be admissible; and, indeed, it is only from a conviction of the candour and indulgence usual in general courts-martial, I can expect a favourable reception of what is now offered, and which you could obtain in no other way.

I can with truth affirm that Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie's character, as an officer, has been invariably brave, enterprizing, active, and indefatigable. His first introduction into the

service placed him under my command, in the year 1783, and on every occasion since, where we have met on service together, I have had the strongest reason to applaud his conduct, and acknowledge the value of that assistance he has constantly afforded me, in situations both of difficulty and danger. It is with sincere pleasure I speak of him as a member of society, having ever found him honourable, just, of disposition the most conciliatory, and manners, in every respect, perfectly consistent with the character of a man of honour and a gentleman.

R. R. WILFORD,

Major-General.

With every good wish for a happy termination to this unpleasant business, allow me to subscribe myself,

My dear Gillespie,

Most truly and faithfully,

Your's,

R. R. WILFORD.

To destroy most effectually the whole of the charges, which were brought forward on the presumption that the affairs of the regiment

had been wilfully abused in Jamaica, by the connivance and with the sanction of the lieutenant-colonel, his Excellency Lord Belcarras, the governor of that island, was called, who produced the messages and votes of the House of Assembly, as decisive of the fact that the matters in complaint were both known and approved of by his lordship, and that respectable body. Lord Belcarras was also pleased to say, at the close of his evidence, "the twentieth regiment was in a high state of discipline, and their internal economy was extremely good, whilst under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie."

The defence itself was couched in that firm, dignified, and perspicuous language, which is expressive of conscious integrity; and, like the lion that shakes the droppings of the passing cloud from his mane, the colonel thus addressed himself to the court: "After nearly two years of the most painful anxiety, I have, thank God! arrived at the moment of relief: and though it is not usual for a person accused to assume the tone of triumph, yet surely the

hour of explanation must, to an innocent man, be deemed the hour of victory.

"The danger of delay was never more deprecated by him who waited for reward, than it has been by me who panted for my deliverance from charges as foul as I shall prove they are malicious and unfounded. I say malicious, because they originated in the personal revenge of one who sought the safest way of gratifying it."

After touching, indignantly, on the plea of the prosecutor, that this office had been imposed upon him by the commander-in-chief, the colonel produced, as a complete refutation of that assertion, the following letter.

Horse-Guards, 22nd June, 1804,

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the twentieth instant, I have authority to say, that, in consequence of the charges voluntarily preferred against you by Major Cameron, his Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief has judged it necessary to order the same to be investigated

by a general court-martial, before which his Royal Highness expects the major will make good his accusation, or abide by the consequences of traducing his commanding officer.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

W. WYNYARD.

Deputy Adjutant-General.

Having observed that this letter was the best answer to the bold and unqualified assertion of the accuser, 'that the prosecution, on his part, was not a matter of choice, but compulsion,' the colonel proceeded in these terms: "I shall carefully pass over all observations on the court-martial held on Major Cameron, by which he was sentenced to six months suspension, because the court has decided they cannot entertain the subject. It is enough for me that the prosecutor assigns it as a subject of 'recrimination,' although that rather shakes the sincerity of ascribing 'the good of the service, as the motive of this prosecution;' but this he acutely accounts for, by allowing that

' supposed personal injury may blind the judgment, and create prejudice.'

" My defence, however, shall not depend on the rancour of my prosecutor, but on my own innocence, to establish which I now proceed. In endeavouring to follow the evidence, I cannot but complain that it devolves on a prisoner to elucidate the charges against him, and I really feel I have more to atchieve in clearing away the trash under which the facts alleged against me are hidden, than to answer those facts themselves. To obviate, as much as possible, this loss of time, and additional trouble, the court will do me the justice to recollect, that in most of the instances alluded to I was ready to admit the facts, subject to such explanation as I might think it right to resort to in my defence; but this was rejected by the prosecutor, unless accompanied with an acknowledgment of guilt, from which I declare I am free; indeed, I could not conceive the gratification of compelling the court to sit for seven days out of nine, calculating the amount of the sums asserted to have been improperly received,

that they might (in the prosecutor's phrase) 'enter the falsities in round numbers.' This trouble was, as I conceive, unnecessary, if the measure was justifiable; and if unjustifiable, the crime was little enhanced by the amount: nay, so indefatigable was he in the waste of time, that Lieutenant Card was called in, I know not how often, to prove my hand-writing to returns which I acknowledged: but it was auxiliary to the main object, which was not so much to prove the substance of the charge, as to discover subjects, which, from want of immediate explanation, might be tortured into additional crimes.

"Before I enter into the detail of my defence, I will take the liberty of stating to the court, with whom I can have no reserve, the principles on which I have acted, as they will best account for the means I have ever pursued. The common and municipal laws of this country, so avowedly calculated for the protection of persons and property, I suppose from the nature and spirit of them, and the consideration of the variety of persons concerned in the judgment and exercise of them, makes it neces-

sary that the very letter should become a part of the law itself.

" Persons in the military profession are equally amenable to the laws of the country with all other subjects; but the laws sanctioned by the king and parliament for the cognizance of military offences are in their nature more liberal, the grand object being to discover the truth, and not in any way to profit by errors, or what, in other courts, are called flaws in the proceedings.

" In the present case, hardly any thing is to be discerned of a nature entitled to the cognizance of a court-martial; a prosecutor, throughout seeking for any thing like crime or error, even from what passes in the course of evidence. Nothing partaking even of the shadow of bad intention has been exhibited to the court, even by the charge itself; but at most, the errors in judgment of an officer, in the arduous execution of his duty, in the worst of climates, when a commanding officer, to deserve that name, should shew that he has a mind capable of embracing every honourable means that may occur, to keep life and soul together in the troops under

his command; and to keep his regiment in a state of health and discipline, to render them equal to the emergencies of any description.

" Hundreds of instances may be adduced, of regiments, in the shortest possible periods of time, having been rendered unserviceable, nay worse, having been annihilated, from the want of energy and expedient in those at their head; and, surely, in such melancholy cases, the country cannot easily be brought either to admire or defend such very prudent conduct. Were I speaking to men of less enlightened minds than those to whom I have the honour of addressing myself, this kind of language might, to such as have not served in the West Indies, perhaps require more elucidation. But to those that have, and at the same time have possessed common observation, it must have been clearly evident, that to be a good officer in the command of a regiment in the West Indies, the person so circumstanced must possess judgment, humanity, zeal, and expedient: and to check an officer possessing all these qualities, to gratify the ends of any individual, appears to be impolitic, to say the least of it: thousands

of lives may be saved from the encouragement of these qualities; and certainly not so many, if the letter, and not the spirit of the law, is to become the only criterion by which he is to be judged."

The incontrovertible force of this reasoning could not fail to make a strong impression upon all who heard it, contrasted, as it was, with the calculating policy manifested throughout the prosecution. As it was necessary, however, that the minutiæ of the evidence should be replied to and explained, the colonel entered into this part of his defence with the same candour and clearness that distinguished him throughout the business. Having gone over all the charges, according to the order in which they stood, and proved by the highest authorities that in every part he had acted by precedent, with the approbation of those who had the proper cognizance of his conduct, and conformably to the established usages of the island, he thus spoke of his own services in that part of the world:—

"How I have conducted myself, as far as the opinion of those who are most competent to decide, has been stated to the court, to which

I beg leave to add the testimony of those for whose service the regiment was raised, and under whose observation it continually was. In the year 1802, I embarked the regiment in perfect health, and accompanied it to England, where I landed the men in the state deposed to by Major-General Whitelocke, who inspected them on their arrival. Thus, after upwards of eleven years incessant hard service, during which time, except whilst confined by wounds in St. Domingo, I have scarcely missed a single day's duty; yet, on my return to my native country, after passing the prime of my life in the West Indies, I was assailed by these charges, and doomed each day, even up to the day of my trial, to suffer under the most opprobrious misrepresentations. It has often been asked, during the course of the trial, whether there was any thing in the establishment of the twentieth light dragoons different from that of other regiments. It has been properly answered.

"The regiment was different not only from others in the West Indies, but from every one in Jamaica: it was paid by the island exclusively, and all the allowances to it were settled

and allowed by them only. They had a right to allow or refuse whatever they pleased; and therefore, after a final arrangement and discharge with the proper Board there, I might perhaps have fairly declined the inquiry of any other tribunal; but this is not consistent with my feelings, and for that reason I admitted as evidence those copies produced by the prosecutor, without which this trial could not have taken place in this country. Let all who hear me ask their own hearts if this is the symptom of a guilty mind. On the testimonies to the general character I have received, it would ill become me to remark: I would apologize for producing them, did I not know how jealous every officer is of his character. To be unimpeached through a life of service is no dishonourable testimony, and therefore I shall be excused in adding some additional ones, and in calling the attention of the Court to a vote of the House of Assembly in the year 1799, bespeaking their opinion of me, and to lay on the table a letter I received from his Excellency General Nugent, inclosing another vote of thanks to the regiment, and a presentation to me of a sword,

in token of their approbation on our leaving the island. It might be thought I did not set a sufficient value on these testimonies, if I did not produce them; I therefore lay them on the table, and request they may be entered on the minutes."

The Court having ordered these documents, and the letters of testimonial to the excellent character of the colonel, to be entered in the proceedings, the latter concluded his defence in these words:—

"I would venture to ask every individual member of this honourable Court, whether any command, to which his talents may entitle him, however flattering it may be, would be acceptable, if left open to such attacks as this I have most feelingly experienced. Whether I have deserved it, will be the subject of your judgment. In your hands I confide my honour, and whatever may be your decision, well knowing the principles on which it will be founded, to that decision I most cheerfully submit."

The Court, after hearing the prosecutor in his reply, of which in this place nothing more need to be said than that it was framed in the

same spirit of hostility which originated the accusation, adjourned to Tuesday the seventeenth of July, and then delivered the following sentence:—

"The court-martial having duly weighed the evidence given in support of the charge preferred against the prisoner, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Rollo Gillespie, of the twentieth (or Jamaica) regiment of light dragoons, with that which he has adduced in his defence, is of opinion that he is NOT GUILTY of the charge preferred against him, and doth therefore MOST HONOURABLY ACQUIT HIM, inasmuch as he appears to have acted entirely for the good of the service, from long established custom, and in the instance of the regiment which he commanded, with the sanction of the commander of the island, and of the states thereof."

JOHN HOPE, M. G.
President.

ARCHIBALD MORRISON.
Deputy Judge-Advocate.

As in all the vicissitudes of life there is a mixture of good, which preponderates in the end over evil, so this ordeal, though painfully

acute to a mind attuned to the finest feelings, was eventually beneficial, in making more generally known the high character of this brave officer, and bringing his extraordinary case under the particular observation of government, by whom his merits, and the hardships which he had endured, were duly appreciated in the dismissal of his accuser from the service. Resentment, however, was never suffered to gain such an ascendency in the mind of the colonel, as to derive a satisfaction from the errors and misfortunes of others; and how remote he was from a vindictive disposition, appeared afterwards at Madras, where the brother of his prosecutor, the late Captain Cameron, of the East India Company's ship the Lady Jane Gordon, eagerly solicited his friendship, and obtained it; the one being as desirous of making an atonement for the wrong inflicted by his relative, as the other was of evincing his inclination to cast over it the mantle of oblivion.

Still the suffering produced by such a state of tedious suspense, under the pressure of charges that were equally cruel and unjust, could not be healed at once: and it is not to

be wondered that a spirit, naturally active and ardent, should seek relief from painful remembrances and distressing circumstances in a distant region.

That trouble never comes with a single hand, was completely proved in the present instance; for though incapable of committing an intentional wrong to others, the colonel unfortunately fell into difficulties at this period, through the generosity of his temper, and owing to his want of prudence, in placing confidence in persons of whose honour he entertained no doubt, but who cruelly abused the trust placed in their integrity. In consequence of these embarrassments, he made an exchange, on the seventh of May, 1805, with Sir Robert Wilson, of the nineteenth light dragoons, which regiment being then in India, he resolved to proceed thither over land. Accordingly, in the following month, he left England, and went to Hamburgh, where he was under the necessity of putting on a disguise, to avoid the observation of the French, who were then in considerable force at Harburgh, on the opposite side of the Elbe, and from whence they were enabled to keep

Hamburgh completely under their inspection and controul. In what manner they exercised their power at this time, appeared from the outrage of seizing our minister, Sir George Rumbold, and carrying him to France, in defiance of the law of nations. While at Hamburgh, the colonel went one night to the theatre, where he was accosted by a man closely muffled up in a great coat, with whom he entered into conversation, and found that he was his countryman. This person proved to be no other than Napper Tandy; and though the political principles of that celebrated character were completely at variance with those of the colonel, the latter derived from this casual acquaintance the most substantial benefit. Being informed by his countryman, that his liberty, and perhaps his life, was in danger at that place, he immediately effected a retreat to Altona, where a commercial friend afforded him the means of concealment till the search which was made after him by the French spies was over. Having thus narrowly escaped the misery of captivity at least, if not a worse fate, he proceeded to Berlin, and from thence to Vienna, by the way of Dresden.

During his residence at these courts, he had frequent occasion to contrast the intriguing activity and address of the French diplomatists, with the mechanical formality and measured precision of the British ministers in those important situations. This was at the critical moment, when, by the coalition between Austria and Russia against France, nothing was wanting but the additional weight of Prussia in the scale, and a correspondent energy in the direction of the war. Here the superiority of French policy appeared manifest in its influence over the councils of the Prussian cabinet, and thereby keeping that state neutral, till the hour should come, when her hostility might be provoked, not only with impunity, but to the advantage of her pretended friend and real foe. Another instance of the ascendency of the French faction, and its baneful effect on the credulity of nations, was observed by the colonel at Vienna, where, when the war was found to be inevitable, the agents of France exerted themselves to the utmost, in endeavouring to get General Mack placed at the head of the Austrian army. The zeal which was evinced to secure that appointment by persons

who were known to be inclined to the revolutionary state of things, ought to have opened the eyes of those who were interested in checking its progress; but, notwithstanding the palpable folly of entrusting a charge, upon which the fate of Europe seemed to depend, into the hands of a man who was despised by the whole Austrian service, such was the infatuation which prevailed over the councils of the Court of Vienna, that Mack obtained the command; and the remainder of the story may be discovered in the surrender of Ulm. Colonel Gillespie made his remarks on these passing movements, as he went through Germany, and his penetrating mind anticipated most of what followed; in which respect, his sentiments coincided, though unknown to himself, with those entertained by the hero of another element, to whose professional character his own bore a near resemblance; for when Nelson became acquainted with Mack, at the Court of Naples, he had no hesitation in pronouncing him a very contemptible general, from whose imbecility the worst consequences were to be apprehended.

On leaving Vienna, Colonel Gillespie pursued

his course through Austrian Poland, and near Lemberg, or Leopolis, in Gallicia, he had the satisfaction of meeting the grand Austro-Russian army: but this pleasure was somewhat damped by an occurrence, which, at another time, would not have produced the slightest concern in his generous mind. While his cabriolet drew up on the side of the road to let the troops pass, an illustrious personage being attracted by the colonel's arms, and two fowling-pieces which were in the carriage, stopped to examine them. Having paid minute attention to them, he was pleased to express himself in very gracious terms of admiration, but particularly with one of the guns, which, without any ceremony, he handed quietly over to an orderly, who rode off with it instantly. The colonel in vain cried out that he was an English officer, engaged in a long and dangerous journey, which rendered the arms that he had provided indispensably necessary to his safety; but in spite of all that he could urge, the piece was retained as lawful prize, nor was any apology or reason offered to our countryman for the detention.

The colonel in his journey through Servia had

an interview with the celebrated chief, Zerner George, who treated him in a hospitable manner: but on his passage across the Euxine, he and his servant, with a medical gentleman who accompanied him to India, had a narrow escape from the treachery of the pilot. This fellow, instead of shaping his course for Constantinople, according to agreement, steered in a direction which would have brought the vessel into one of the piratical ports on the Asiatic shore of the Black Sea. Whether his design in this was to sell the passengers for slaves, or to rob and murder them, could make little difference, the one case being almost as bad as the other. Fortunately, the eye of the colonel was intent upon the treacherous manœuvring of the corsair, which begat suspicion; and as they were approaching the fatal coast, his judgment convinced him that it was not the port to which he was bound. There was no time for consultation in such a desperate case; and therefore, taking up his double-barrelled gun, he ran to the stern, and levelling the piece at the head of the steersman, threatened to discharge the

contents into his head, if he did not instantly put the vessel about. This had the desired effect, and the colonel continued at the post which he had taken, with his piece over the man, till they were out of any further apprehension of danger.

Soon after his arrival at Constantinople, he experienced another singular adventure. At the house where he resided, was a French officer; who wishing, probably, to become acquainted with the business and distinction of his fellow-lodger, gave him an invitation to dinner, which the colonel, from an unwillingness to form an intimacy with strangers in such a place, thought proper to decline. This he did with the greatest politeness; notwithstanding which, the refusal was felt so offensively by the Frenchman, that he could not repress his indignation and ill manners, exclaiming, loud enough to be heard as he was going up stairs, that "he should be glad to kill an Englishman." The colonel was not one of those who would seek a contest of this sort, but the insult was too personal and gross to pass unnoticed; so, very coolly, waiting upon this

man of courage, he said, "As it is your wish to kill an Englishman, I am come to give you that satisfaction, by trying your skill upon me." The offer was too imperative to be evaded; so to it they went with their swords; but the gasconading hero was soon wounded and disarmed, which, if it did not abate his vanity, taught him at least a practical lesson of caution, to avoid treating with contempt persons of an unassuming appearance.

On account of the disturbances which then rendered travelling dangerous in Turkish Asia, the colonel and his servant proceeded by the way of Greece for Aleppo, as the nearest point from whence they could with safety cross the desert; but in their journey, they had a very narrow escape with their lives, by falling among a party of wandering Arabs. While the Europeans were sitting apart by themselves, Colonel Gillespie's servant, who, to his general knowledge of languages added that of the Arabic, discovered, from some whisperings at supper, that a design was forming to murder his master for the sake of his arms, to which the

chief had taken a fancy. Fortunately, however, the design was suspended by a sudden complaint, which attacked the chief with such violence, that in his agony he made application to Colonel Gillespie for relief, it being a common opinion among these people that all European travellers are well skilled in physic. Knowing this, the colonel, before his departure from Constantinople, had taken care to provide himself with some medicines; and on the present occasion he selected one which he was aware would operate powerfully enough. The Arab, soon after swallowing the dose, was taken with such excruciating pain and gripings, as to leave no doubt in his mind that he was poisoned. An uncommon bustle ensued among his people, and every thing indicated the commencement of a terrible conflict, for which the colonel prepared himself, being determined that his life should be dearly purchased by his assailants. But just as the storm was about to burst forth, the remedy that had been administered produced its intended effect; and the patient being thus wonderfully relieved from the acuteness of suf-

fering, changed his resentment into gratitude. Every mark of hospitality was now shewn to the colonel and his company; and the chief of the band continued to give them his powerful protection, during a great part of their perilous journey. At Bagdad, where the colonel was induced to make some stay, he formed an acquaintance with the celebrated Ali Pacha, who distinguished him in a particular manner; and as a testimony of his esteem, presented him with a very valuable Arabian horse. This animal, which became well known afterwards in India by the name of the donor, was given by the colonel to the company's stud at Poosah, in Bengal, for the purpose of improving the breed, which cannot fail to be of essential benefit in that country. Proceeding at length to Bussorah, our traveller embarked for Bombay, from which place he made the best of his way to Madras. This was early in the year 1806; and soon after he was appointed to the command at Arcot, where he had been but a few days, when the dreadful explosion took place at Vellore, which threatened not only the de-

struction of our settlements in Mysore, but the utter extermination of the English power in the east.

It is beside our purpose here to enter into a minute detail of the various causes which combined in producing the insurrection and catastrophe that now took place; but no doubt can be entertained that the alterations in the dress of the native troops were no more than a mere pretext for the discontent and mutiny. Certain it is, that the business had a much deeper foundation, and a more extended line of operations, than appeared at the time; for though the military regulations might have been in some degree calculated to excite fears in the prejudiced minds of the natives, who naturally felt apprehensive of farther innovations, civil and religious, still these jealousies were nothing more than convenient matter, upon which the designing were enabled to act and to convert to another object. The sepoys and the lower classes of the people were only instruments in the hands of crafty, ambitious, and intriguing men, who, in their hatred of the

English, hoped by this opportunity to succeed at once in annihilating our dominion in that quarter. With this view, it was resolved, by a general massacre, at the same time to distract the attention, and to render the efforts of the Europeans of no avail, by a rising at once in different places, waiting for the success of that at Vellore as the signal to spread the work of carnage and desolation through the three presidencies. The scheme was planned upon a scale so extended, and with such a superiority of skill in the direction, as to prove clearly that it had been long in contemplation, and that it was under the management of those, who, to great intellect and inveterate malignity, added the powerful means of riches and numbers. Vellore was pitched upon as the centre of operations, on account of its local advantages, and because it afforded a rallying point, in being the spot selected by our government for the residence of the sons of the Sultaun Tippoo. From the turbulent state of the native chiefs, and the natural jealousy of foreigners, it was anticipated by the authors of this formidable conspiracy that the whole mass of

population would be so favourable to the insurgents, as to withhold all assistance from the objects of their fury.

This was the critical period when the lieutenant-colonel took the command at Arcot, where he learnt, with great satisfaction, that his old companion in arms, Colonel Fancourt, with whom he had served in St. Domingo under General Simco, was then at the head of the neighbouring garrison of Vellore. On the ninth of July, Colonel Gillespie had appointed to have dined with his friend and family; but just as he mounted his horse for that purpose, some letters arrived from the government, which, requiring immediate answers, compelled him to relinquish his visit, and to send an apology to Colonel Fancourt for his unavoidable absence. There was a visible interposition of Divine Providence in this disappointment; since, had it not been for the imperative circumstance of duty which detained him at Arcot, Colonel Gillespie would, in all probability, have shared the melancholy catastrophe of his brave and unfortunate acquaintance. The troops which at this time garrisoned Vellore were six com-

panies of the first battalion of the first regiment of native infantry, the second battalion of the twenty-third regiment, and four complete companies of His Majesty's sixty-ninth regiment.

The confederates intended that all who were brought to join in the insurrection should act upon a preconcerted plan, which had been digested and privately circulated by some of the Marawa chiefs: and in connexion with them were some Frenchmen disguised as Fakeers, who went about the country inveighing every where against the English as robbers and tyrants. Unhappily, the splendour which the sons of Tippoo were enabled by our liberality to keep up, and the liberty which they enjoyed of holding an intercourse with a continual influx of strangers, contributed to strengthen the conspiracy, and to facilitate the desperate resolution of those who formed it. They were, however, as it seemed, too precipitate; and the very day that Colonel Gillespie was to have dined with his friend happened to be the one which the insurgents pitched upon as the most opportune for their diabolical purpose, encouraged thereto, in all likelihood, by the unsus-

pecting deportment of our officers, and the extreme mildness of the government. It was, indeed, to many valuable men a fatal supineness; for while they were enjoying in complete confidence social harmony, neither apprehensive of evil designs in others, nor meditating oppression themselves, the murderous plot was ripening into action. About two o'clock in the morning of the tenth of July, just as the moon had risen above the horizon, the European barracks at Vellore were silently surrounded, and a most destructive fire was poured in at every door and window from musketry and a six-pounder upon the poor defenceless soldiers, who, being taken by surprise, fell in heaps. At the same moment, the European soldiers, with those on the main guard, and even the sick in the hospital, were inhumanly butchered; after which, the assassins hastened to the houses of the officers, where they put to death all that fell into their hands. Colonel M'Kerras, who commanded one of the battalions, was shot while haranguing his men on the parade ground; and Colonel Fancourt fell in like manner, as he was proceeding

to the main guard. Lieutenant Ely, of the sixty-ninth, with his infant son in his arms, was bayonetted in the presence of his wife: and this scene of barbarity continued till about seven o'clock, when two officers and a surgeon, whose quarters were near to the European barracks, contrived to get in, and take the command of the remains of the four companies. These few men made a sally from the barracks; and having gained possession of the six-pounder, they fought their way desperately through their assailants, till they succeeded in reaching the gateway, on the top of which Serjeant Brodie, with his European guard, continued most gallantly to resist the whole body of insurgents.

Such was the state of things at Vellore, when Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, totally ignorant of the confusion that raged there, mounted his horse at six o'clock in the morning, with the intention of riding over to breakfast. At the instant he was about to set out, the dismal tidings came of the tragic fate of his friend, and of the horrors that were still prevailing. No time was to be lost; and, therefore, collecting immediately about a troop of the nineteenth dra-

goons, and ordering the galloper guns to follow with all speed, he hastened forward with the utmost eagerness. So anxious, indeed, was he to reach the place, that he was considerably in advance of his men all the way; and on his appearance, Serjeant Brodie, who had served with him in St. Domingo, instantly recognized him, and turning to his drooping comrades, he exclaimed: "If Colonel Gillespie be alive, he is now at the head of the nineteenth dragoons, and God Almighty has sent him from the West Indies to save our lives in the East." It was indeed, in all respects, such a display of divine goodness, as could hardly fail to kindle in the most thoughtless mind a ray of devotional gratitude, while hope was pointing out a prospect of deliverance. Urged on by the noblest of all motives, that of saving his fellow-creatures, the colonel, regardless of his own safety, and in the face of a furious fire poured upon him from the walls, pushed towards the bastion, where a chain, formed of the soldiers' belts, being let down by the serjeant, the latter had the indescribable satisfaction of welcoming a leader from whom he knew every thing might be expected that energy and

perseverance could accomplish. Immediately on assuming the command, the lieutenant-colonel formed the resolution of charging the mutineers with the bayonet, which he carried into execution, and thus kept them in check till the arrival of the galloper guns, when orders were given to blow open the gate, which being promptly done, the dragoons entered, and a short but severe conflict ensued. The sepoys were encouraged to make a desperate stand by their officers; but, after losing about six hundred, who were cut in pieces on the spot, the rest fled in all directions. A considerable number escaped through the sally-port: but many hundreds were taken in hiding places, and imprisoned. The standard of Tippoo had been hoisted on the palace soon after the dreadful business commenced, which left no doubt of its being projected with the knowledge of the princes. So well assured, indeed, was the lieutenant-colonel of this fact, that in the first emotion of indignation, occasioned by the death of his friend, and the shocking spectacle which presented itself on all sides, he would have consented to the demands of the enraged soldiers,

who were bent upon entering the palace. But the entreaties of some persons who had the care of the princes prevailed; and though the colonel could not be persuaded of their innocence, he condescended to take them under his protection, and sent them soon after with a guard to Madras. Thus, it may be truly said, did the prompt and decisive spirit of one man put an end to this dangerous confederacy; for had the fort remained in the possession of the insurgents but a few days, they were certain of being joined by fifty thousand men from Mysore.

This energetic act was, indeed, the preservation of the Carnatic; and so convinced was the general, Sir John Cradock, of the immense value of the service performed by the colonel, that he called it in his dispatch "a military wonder;" and well might it be so termed, for Vellore is one of the strongest fortresses in that part of India. The gratification produced by the suppression of this systematic combination, and the sensation of delight excited by the deliverance of many valuable lives, particularly of the wife and family of his friend, experienced a melan-

choly depression in the loss of an esteemed acquaintance under such circumstances. Though Colonel Gillespie exposed himself throughout this arduous conflict in every part where danger and death prevailed, he fortunately received no other injury than a severe contusion on the right arm; which, however, neither slackened his own exertions, nor dispirited those who fought under his directions. Soon after this he was called upon to act at Wallajabad, and other stations, for the purpose of repressing the symptoms of insurrection, which were indicated in these places.

For this important service, the colonel was rewarded by the supreme government with a vote of thanks, very handsomely expressed, accompanied by a small pecuniary present. He was also appointed inspector of cavalry, which office he discharged in such a manner, as to call forth general admiration; but at the end of twelve months he was deprived of that situation in an indelicate manner, though it had been conferred as a honourable mark of distinction, and was neither attended with ease nor profit.

Such was the unexpected result of his heroic zeal, at the moment when, it may be said, that on his single determination hung the fate of our eastern possessions, and the existence, not of a single fortress or an army, but of an extensive empire, consisting of millions of inhabitants of various denominations, countries, and pursuits. This is not the exaggerated language of oriental declamation and hyperbolical panegyric, but the serious expression of truth and feeling, occasioned by a sense of what this valuable man did for British India, and regret that his services should have passed in a manner unrequited. It is painful to notice any thing like indifference to great professional merit, on the part of public bodies; but when the obligations of the country to the man who secured by his intrepidity our eastern acquisitions are considered, it cannot surely be unreasonable to say, that the recompense ought to have been commensurate with the magnitude of what was gained by such valour; nor can it be unjust to complain, when it is found that this recompense amounted comparatively to nothing.

Without attempting, or even wishing to call in question the claims of those who have experienced the liberality of the India Company, it may, at least, be permitted to observe, that in no one instance has this liberality been more deserved than it would have been, had it flowed in the form of a permanent grant to the deliverer of Vellore.

The premature developement of the conspiracy was, no doubt, upon the whole, a very fortunate circumstance; but this, in no degree, lessened the value of his service who crushed the evil in its beginning, by the firmness of his resolution, and the rapidity of his movements. On the contrary, it is evident that this promptitude alone prevented the mischief from gathering into an overwhelming torrent, which no wisdom could have diverted, nor any power that we possessed in that part of the world have subdued. It would, therefore, have been a more grateful task for the biographer to have recorded, with the narrative of this splendid atchievement, an account of the reward by which the remembrance of it is perpetuated.

Precluded from doing this by that neglect which too often leaves great actions to the satisfaction arising from barren laurels and empty praise, all that remains is to say, that if British India was worth the preservation, something certainly is yet due to the memory and the family of him who saved it by his energy, and died in its defence.

The nineteenth light dragoons being ordered to Europe, the lieutenant-colonel, on the sixteenth of April, 1807, exchanged into the eighth, or royal Irish light dragoons; soon after which, he was appointed to command the cavalry in Bengal, against the Seiks of the Panjab, near the ancient Hydraotes.

In this service, he rendered essential benefit both to the king's troops under his command, and those of the Company, by his skilful management and prudent regulations. These improvements were rendered necessary, by the deteriorated state of discipline into which both branches of cavalry had been suffered to fall: but though the difficulty of reform was increased by the length of time, during which the negli-

gence had continued, and the peculiar circumstances of distinct authorities, the colonel happily succeeded in effecting a speedy change for the better, and, what was still more pleasing, without exciting either discontent or jealousy. On the breaking up of the camp at Ludheana, Colonel Gillespie repaired to the Hurdwar, towards the sources of the Ganges, that he might pass his leisure time in the diversion of tyger hunting, accompanied by his friends, Colonel Sir William Keir, and Captain Taylor, military secretary to the governor-general, who were, like himself, fond of that dangerous and enterprising sport.

While they were encamped for this purpose, at a place called Mornee, in the Kamaoon mountains, the Rajah of those parts, who was then at war with his neighbours, the Seiks, offered the command of his troops to Colonel Gillespie, which was of course refused, as our government was at that time in a state of amity with the Seiks. But the Rajah being unwilling to lose the advantage which fortune seemed to have thrown in his way, of gaining a European leader for his army, in an attack that he was about

to make, conceived that he should gain by menace what was denied to his intreaty. With this view, he ordered the small camp of the English gentlemen to be surrounded by a large body of armed men : upon which, the colonel, whose presence of mind never forsook him in an emergency, and whose courage was not to be daunted by threats or numbers, called the chief of the party before him, and pulling out his watch, said to him, "Tell the Rajah, your master, that if in half-an-hour he does not recall his men from around my tents, and leave the road open to me and my company, I shall take his fort from him, and expel him the country." The determined manner with which this was spoken completely awed and astonished the chief, who reported the message so faithfully, and with such a description of the firmness of the colonel, that the Rajah not only withdrew his forces, thus leaving the passage free, but voluntarily gave the Europeans an honourable escort to attend them out of his territory. When this instance of heroism occurred, it was little to be apprehended that among these very mountains, and probably upon this very spot, the colonel

should six years afterwards terminate his glorious and eventful career.

Having mentioned the subject of tyger-hunting, it will not be amiss to mention here a remarkable instance of the daring courage of the colonel, which happened some time after this, on the race-course of Bangalore, where he attacked and speared a royal tyger, of the largest size, and most furious description. The horse which he rode on this occasion was a high bred Arabian, and the only one that could be brought to face the tyger. This fine animal is now, or was lately, in England, having been sent home by the colonel as a present to his Royal Highness the Duke of York.

On the fifth of January, 1809, Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie exchanged into the twenty-fifth light dragoons, for more active service; and it was not a little gratifying to his feelings that this removal brought him into a regiment of which that excellent officer, and the parental friend of his youthful days, Major-General Wilford, was then the colonel.

At leaving the former regiment, he gave the officers and men a most affectionate expression

of his esteem; and he received in return a remarkable testimony of gratitude in the following address, the sincerity of which constituted an ample excuse for any slight irregularity that may be discovered in the proceeding.

To Lieutenant-Colonel R. R. Gillespie, Eighth, or King's Royal Irish Light Dragoons.

Sir,

We, the non-commissioned officers and private men of His Majesty's eighth light dragoons, cannot take leave of an officer so justly and eminently distinguished, so highly endeared to the whole corps by his public and private virtues, without expressing our regret, without acknowledging the FAREWELL which was transmitted to us. Uncertain if our request may meet your concurrence, yet relying on that condescension which has ever distinguished you, we beg your acceptance of a sword, valued at two hundred pounds sterling, as a small testimony of the sense which the whole corps entertain of your goodness. Be assured, Sir, that wherever your services may be required, you will be attended by the most earnest

wishes of the royal Irish dragoons for your welfare; and by their prayer, that you will return to them. We are well aware, that under the command of Colonel Wood, who for some years past has commanded the corps to the perfect satisfaction of every individual, we can have nothing but your absence to regret: under him the eighth dragoons have ever felt the highest happiness; yet, as duties of a higher station may shortly call him from us, what a satisfactory consideration would it be, that his command would be succeeded by that of Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie! Accept, Sir, these effusions of grateful though not polished minds. We acknowledge our presumption in addressing one so highly our superior; yet, your goodness induces us to hope we shall be excused.

Signed by all the regiment."

To this effusion of honest affection and admiration, which could only have proceeded from minds warmed by gratitude, the colonel returned the following appropriate answer:

To the non-commissioned officers and privates of His Majesty's Eighth Light Dragoons.

Cawnpore, 20th August, 1809.

I have received, brother soldiers, your address, with sentiments of satisfaction that are not easily described.

If I were formerly a soldier, proud of his profession, and conscious of having always acted uprightly in the exercise of its duties, I now feel amply repaid in having gained the good opinion of so numerous and respectable a corps as His Majesty's Royal Irish, or eighth light dragoons. Accept, then, comrades, of my grateful thanks for the good wishes you express; and as it appears we are about to be separated, I have to lament that I may not be with you when your services are required: a day, which, whenever it arrives, I prognosticate will cover you with glory. I know the exertions you are capable of, and that they are such as will do honour to yourselves, and gain the approbation of your glorious king and country.

The sword you offer is a tribute of too great value. Let it be less so, and without any ornament but an inscription,

The Gift of the Royal Irish,

which will make it more valuable to me than were it covered with gold. I shall receive it with gratitude; and when I draw it in the defence of my country, I shall remember you.

Once more, comrades, I bid you farewell, and I do it now with a less heavy heart, as I am conscious I leave you under the command of an officer who knows how to appreciate your worth, and do justice to your merits. Adieu.

ROBERT ROLLO GILLESPIE,
Lieutenant-Colonel.

Without entering into the discussion of the propriety of such addresses on the part of the commanded to their superiors, it is but justice to both parties, in the present instance, to observe, that the vote resulted from what may be denominated genuine filial affection.

Of this, indeed, another proof appeared, at the same time, in a memorial from the officers of the regiment, to His Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief, soliciting either the continuance of the lieutenant-colonel with the Irish light dragoons, or his restoration to them at a future period. On being favoured with a perusal of

this honourable testimony of the esteem in which he was held by his brothers in arms, the colonel returned it with a letter, in which, among other expressions characteristic of his noble disposition and gratitude, he says, "Wherever I go, I shall have but to call to my recollection the affectionate testimony of my Royal Irish friends, to inspire me with a double portion of zeal and ardour in the support of my king and country; and Honour, that treasure of a soldier, bought with blood, and kept at life's expense."

Soon after this he returned to the peninsula of India, and assumed the command at Bangalore with the brevet rank of colonel, to which he was appointed the twenty-fifth of October in that year. This was a period of peculiar difficulty; for, in consequence of various commotions which had taken place in the Madras army, several courts-martial were to be held at the station where the colonel commanded. In such a perturbed state of contending interests and feelings, when wrought up to a pitch of irritation by disappointment or resentment, it required no ordinary discretion and firmness in the commanding officer to allay the ferment of

conflicting passions, and to prevent their breaking out into serious disturbances. Where so many persons were assembled together on a similar object, but with different opinions and opposite wishes, it would have betrayed little acquaintance with human nature to expect tranquil sentiment and mutual condescension. On the contrary, much was to be dreaded from the agitation of wounded pride, and the violence of unreasonable prejudice. To control these elements of strife, and to bring such a number of discordant spirits within the bounds of moderation, without lessening the dignity of authority on the one hand, or exercising any undue stretch of power on the other, must have been no easy task. Happily, however, it was in the management of one, who united to the most determined inflexibility of resolution in what was right, a serenity of temper and suavity of manners, that gave to the positive denial an agreeable mildness, and deprived even the most peremptory decision of all the harshness of severity.

Under the personal direction, and by the indefatigable exertion of such a commander, it is

not to be wondered that the large body of troops then stationed at Bangalore should have made a rapid improvement in discipline and the manœuvres of the field. The colonel superintended their exercises both in brigade and line with so much attention, that in comparatively a short space these corps, composed of every arm, cavalry, infantry, and a portion of artillery, comprising in the whole ten regiments, formed one of the finest and most perfect military bodies in existence. Of the importance of the services of Colonel Gillespie, indeed, at this period, a striking proof was given in his appointment to the command of the whole Mysore division: but another scene, still more congenial to his enterprising mind, was about to open for the display of his splendid talents, and the gratification of his heroic thirst for glory.

The occupation of the island of Java by the French in great force, and the uncommon pains taken by them in strengthening and improving that important island, could not fail to awaken the jealousy of the British government in India. The active operations carried on in that quarter,

and the means employed by the generals commanding there, formed such a contrast to the apathy of the Dutch, and were so completely in unison with the ambitious declarations of the imperial chief whom they served, that to have suffered these vast military preparations to advance, without an attempt to wrest the settlement from the hands of its new possessor, would have indicated a culpable indifference to the security of our eastern territories. Considering, therefore, the danger which menaced our commercial and political existence, it became necessary to send, with all possible dispatch, a formidable expedition against Java; and no sooner did this object occupy the attention of our council, than the advice of Colonel Gillespie was taken with respect to the proper measures for carrying it into effect. It may, without derogating from the merits of others, be truly asserted, that, in the preliminary consultations, as well as in the subsequent arrangements and execution of this important enterprize, the mind of the colonel was felt as a powerful spring, upon which the ultimate success materially depended.

The expedition, which was accompanied by the Earl of Minto, governor-general, having completed its preparations, the first division, under Colonel Gillespie, sailed on the eighteenth of April, 1811, from Madras Roads; and, in about a week after, the remainder of the troops followed, under the command of Major-General Wetherall. The very day after their sailing, a violent hurricane came on, which seemed to threaten the destruction of the armament, but providentially no material loss was sustained. The long experience of Colonel Gillespie in the West Indies was of most essential service on this occasion, and contributed greatly to the preservation of the men and horses. He frequently visited the several transports during the passage, to enforce the orders that had been prescribed; and in this service he was ably supported by all the officers who were embarked in that convoy. In consequence of this assiduous care and personal attention, notwithstanding the extreme heat, and long confinement on board the ships, the troops reached their destination in good health, and were ready to enter upon immediate action.

The whole were commanded by Sir Samuel Auchmuty, who, like an affectionate parent, was attentive to every suggestion that could contribute to their comfort during a voyage of near four months. On the fourth of August, the advance, under Colonel Gillespie, landed at Chillingching, in the bay of Batavia, and immediately moved forward, taking up a position beyond the village, that, by gaining possession of the road to Cornelis, where the enemy were in great force, the landing of the rest of the troops might be protected. On the morning of the sixth, the colonel, with a small party, reconnoitred the road and country along the coast towards Batavia; and, from his report, the commander-in-chief directed the advance to counter-march the same evening, and occupy a position about six miles from the capital, which was entered on the eighth, and a royal salute fired from the shipping. As an attempt was apprehended from the enemy in the vicinity the same evening, the troops were silently drawn out, and ordered to lie on their arms in the grand square, which they had scarcely reached, when the head of the enemy's co-

lumn appeared, and opened a fire upon the picquet stationed at the bridge, leading from Weltervreeden to the town. The firing being now heard in all directions, Colonel Gillespie sallied out at the head of a party, with the intention of charging the enemy in flank, which movement had the desired effect, and the firing completely ceased by the retreat of the assailants. At four o'clock in the morning of the tenth, the advance marched from Batavia towards Weltervreeden, under the orders of Colonel Gillespie; but just as the officers mounted their horses, they were all taken suddenly ill, in consequence of swallowing some deleterious drug, which had been infused into their coffee by a Frenchman who kept the house where they were quartered. The fellow had a cup of the same mixture poured down his throat, though sorely against his will; but this was the only punishment inflicted upon him, as the occupation of the moment, and other serious concerns, prevented a further investigation of the atrocious act. At the break of day, the party arrived at the cantonment of Weltervreeden, which they found abandoned, the troops of the

enemy having retrograded to their strong position on the road towards Cornelis. Here their right was protected by the Slokan River; and their left by the great river of Batavia, over which was a bridge, at that time in flames. Pepper plantations concealed their lines, and an abbatis blocked up the road on which Colonel Gillespie's left was advancing. Behind the abbatis were placed four horse artillery guns, which opened a fire as soon as the troops arrived within range of their grape. At the same time, the infantry of the enemy occupied two villages, stretching along both sides of the road, and from thence kept up a brisk fire of musketry. The enemy's guns were answered by three pieces of large artillery attached to the British advance, while our sharp shooters made sure of their aim along the whole front. Dispositions had already been made for turning the enemy's flanks; which object was carried, after surmounting very great obstacles, from the nature of the country. The two villages just mentioned were set on fire, and our troops rushing forward, charged the guns at the point of the bayonet. The action lasted full two

hours; but, notwithstanding the formidable numbers which the British had to encounter, and the impediments that impeded their operations, they completely succeeded in defeating the enemy, who, after a severe loss in officers and men, fled towards Cornelis. Colonel Gillespie, at the head of a squadron of the twenty-second dragoons, pressed hard upon the fugitives, who were followed close under their batteries, from whence the pursuers were assailed by a shower of grape and round shot. In the arsenal were found upwards of three hundred pieces of ordnance, and a quantity of military stores. But the principal benefit gained by this brilliant action, was the immediate possession of the healthy cantonment of Weltervreeden, which was most essential to the preservation of our soldiers. The capture of this place was, therefore, of the greatest importance, as it had been the policy of the French general, in case of invasion, to make Batavia an object of temptation; being well aware, that the noxious climate there would in a short time produce a mortality among the troops.

On the morning after this affair, the following brigade orders were issued:

" Colonel Gillespie, in appreciating the gallantry of the troops whom he had the honour to command in the action of yesterday, cannot find words adequate to express his thanks, and the admiration which their heroic behaviour has excited. He will take the earliest opportunity of particularizing to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief the meritorious conduct of the officers and men, during the whole of that brisk affair; and trusts that the victory gained will be considered worthy the glory of adding a sprig to the laurels already won by the distinguished troops comprising the advance."

In the public thanks given to Colonel Gillespie for his conduct, the commander-in-chief observes, " that he entirely approves the gallant manner in which he profited by the permission given him to exercise his discretion in pushing the enemy some distance towards Cornelis, should he see an opportunity, after possessing himself of the cantonment of Weltervreeden."

The possession of this important post facilitated the preparations for driving the enemy out of their strong hold of Cornelis, an en-

trenched camp, protected by two rivers, one on the east, and the other on the west, with numerous batteries guarding each pass. The circumference of these fortified lines comprised nearly five miles, defended by two hundred and eighty pieces of cannon. Here the whole of the French force, which had been considerably augmented by recent supplies from Europe, was concentrated, under the governor-general Janssens, and General Jumel, the senior military officer, who had neglected no means that could be adopted to render these lines, which were strong by their natural situation, still more secure by art. But such was the ardour of our soldiers, that without regarding the resistance they had to combat, it would have been gratifying their wishes, if an immediate attack had been made upon these formidable works. Prudence, however, dictated more cautious measures; and Sir Samuel Auchmuty wisely determined to make himself better acquainted with the position, before he ventured upon an attack. In the mean time, every exertion was made to facilitate operations; and so actively were these carried on, that in the night of the

twentieth, the army broke ground within six hundred yards of the enemy's works. The troops of the advance under Colonel Gillespie guarded the trenches, and every measure was taken for the security of the working parties, who continued their labours unmolested the whole night. On the dawn of the twenty-first, the enemy opened a severe fire, which a little damaged the yet unfinished batteries, and annoyed the troops in their operations of relief; but still the works went on, and with such effect, that at eight in the morning of the twenty-fourth, a tremendous fire was opened upon the enemy, who returned it in a spirited manner.

But as it was evident that a contest of this kind could not long continue without material injury to the assailants, and as the enemy were still actively employed in strengthening their lines of defence, the necessity of a more decisive mode of attack became obvious. In following up this resolution, the principal difficulty lay in ascertaining the point most favourable for an assault; the greatest precautions having been taken by the enemy to keep the real state of Cornelis a secret, even from the in-

habitants of Batavia. A very imperfect knowledge could be obtained by reconnoitring, owing to the nature of the situation; and the information furnished by deserters was little to be relied on, though it was plain enough, from their intelligence, that uncommon pains had been taken to render the front towards Batavia as strong as possible. A front attack was, therefore, considered as unadviseable, not only from the risk which attended it, but the certainty of a prodigious loss, even in the event of success. A plan for turning the enemy's left by a path leading round the entrenchments, on the side of the great river, was then proposed, and a deserter offered himself as a guide: but on minute investigation, it was found that this path would admit only of a file abreast; and to attack thirteen thousand men strongly entrenched by such a passage, appeared too hazardous to be attempted. From all the observations that could be made, the natural inference was, that the enemy were as well secured towards their rear as in their front; and, in reality, this proved to be their strongest side. An assault on their left flank was equally objectionable, as the great

river which covered it was unfordable, with steep banks, and an almost impenetrable jungle. The only remaining front to be noticed was that of their right, on the Slokan; and this, unquestionably, was the weakest.

From the openness of the country in this quarter, it was more easy to make observations; but reconnoitring on this side was discouraged by our general, that the enemy might have no suspicion of his intentions. Particular information was desirable on the situation of one of the redoubts, which was supposed to lie beyond the Slokan; and fortunately this was at length obtained at the very moment when it was most wanted. An intelligent sergeant, who deserted from that part on the twenty-fourth, described exactly the position of the redoubt, the bridge that connected it with the rest of the works, and the defence by which it was protected.

On this information, the plan of attack was settled; and two days afterwards, the fate of Java was to be determined by storming the lines of Cornelis.

Colonel Gillespie commanded the principal attack: and the troops under his orders con-

sisted of the infantry part of the advance, forming the leading column, and the part of the right brigade of the line, having Colonel Gibbs at their head.

This force moved off soon after midnight, on the morning of the twenty-sixth of August, and took the route by which the deserter, who acted as the guide, had escaped: and here it will be proper to continue the narrative in an extract from the Memoir of the Conquest of Java. We had to make a detour of many miles through a very difficult country, intersected with ravines, inclosures, and betel plantations, resembling hop grounds, many parts of which could only be passed in single files: and though the head of the column moved at a snail's pace, the great darkness of the night caused the troops in the rear to separate from them, and miss their way.

On arriving at a place where several roads met, our guide was perplexed which to pursue; but Captain Dickson, of the Madras cavalry, aide-de-camp to Sir Samuel Auchmuty, having been reconnoitring in this direction some days before, very fortunately recollected the right one, which was pursued accordingly, and our

guide soon confirmed the choice by recognizing objects which he had marked in his escape; and being now convinced that it was the right road, he went forward with full confidence.

The head of the column had arrived very near the enemy's works, when a report was brought to Colonel Gillespie that the rear was not up. This awful moment was one of those solemn pauses of distressing anxiety which may be conceived, but cannot be well described, and is felt only by a mind that has been engaged in an arduous undertaking, on the success or failure of which depend the lives of thousands, and the honour of a whole army. Too near to the enemy to escape being discovered by their scouts and patroling parties, it became necessary to make a retrograde movement; and after taking a few paces to the rear, we again faced towards the enemy, waiting in anxious expectation for the return of the messengers who had been sent to bring up the rear to close the column. The day was now fast approaching; to delay longer, therefore, for the rear, would have exposed us to a discovery; while a retreat would have been pregnant with incalculable mischief, for as all

the secondary attacks were to be guided by our's, these must of necessity have miscarried, had the main column retired.

These considerations determined Colonel Gillespie to venture on the attack with what troops were already up, trusting for timely support to Colonel Gibbs, whose gallantry and military ardour, he knew, would bring him to the scene of action the instant the report of the firing should serve to point out the direction of the route. With full confidence, therefore, our leader then placed himself at the head of his little band, and we moved on in silent expectation. A deep cut across the road, close to the enemy's lines, obliged us to advance slowly, in order to afford time to the men to form up after they had passed over.

The dawn of the morning now shewed us the videttes of the enemy, who were posted outside, on the left of the road. They challenged us twice, and were answered, "Patrole." We passed on. An officer's picquet, stationed close to one of their principal redoubts, situated without the river Slokan, challenged us next, when Colonel Gillespie gave the word "For-

ward;" and so rapidly was the advance conducted, that the enemy's picquet had not time to effect their retreat, but every man was either killed or taken.

A general blaze now suddenly arose, blue lights and rockets being sent forth by the enemy to discover our approach, whilst the artillery on the redoubts discharged their grape and round shot, which, however, passed chiefly over our heads. The foe in the nearest redoubt had not time to re-load, for our soldiers actually assailed it at the point of the bayonet, and carried it with such celerity that not a man escaped.

Colonel Gillespie continued to press forward, in order to secure the passage over the Slokan, leading into the enemy's lines; and which was defended by four guns, horse artillery, directly facing the bridge, and flanked by all their batteries. This, therefore, was a severe struggle; but the passage being secured, the colonel next turned to the left, and attacked a second redoubt within the body of their works. Here a sharp conflict ensued. The handful of soldiers by which this post was attacked were opposed by such great numbers of the enemy, as to call

forth the most extraordinary efforts of gallantry on the part of the assailants. It was, however, carried at the point of the bayonet, in the same determined manner, notwithstanding the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy, both of grape and musketry. Several officers here lost their valuable lives in the very bosom of victory, and many gallant soldiers were killed and wounded.

These two captured redoubts mounted each twenty eighteen pounders, and several twenty-four and thirty-two pounders, while the ditches were filled with musketeers. Another large redoubt on the right of our entrance was now to be assailed; and Colonel Gibbs just arriving at this time, at the head of the grenadiers of the fourteenth, fifty-ninth, and sixty-ninth regiments, Colonel Gillespie directed him to carry it, which was done in the same gallant and successful manner as the preceding ones had been, and under a severe fire of grape and musketry. A dreadful explosion took place in this redoubt, by the blowing up of the powder magazine, which occasioned the loss of many lives. A great number of shells and rockets were fired

by this means; and a sulphureous blast of mingled ashes, smoke, and fragments of every kind, broke upon us like a volcano, stunning all around, both friends and foes. This catastrophe was followed for a minute by an awful silence. The captains of each of the grenadier companies of the above regiments, and many others, all found a death—but few a grave! Numbers of the enemy also were destroyed, and the ground was strewed with the mangled bodies and scattered limbs of friends and foes, blended together in a horrible state of fraternity. Colonel Gibbs, and several other officers, were thrown by the shock to a considerable distance, but fortunately without sustaining any material injury. This magazine is reported to have been fired by two captains in the French service, named Muller and Osman, who both perished in the explosion. Here, Brigadier Jauffret was taken prisoner by Colonel Gillespie in person. The enemy now renewed their fire upon our troops, with increased fury, from their park guns and batteries in the rear, and upon the little bridge across the Slokan, over which they had to pass.

While Colonel Gibbs proceeded on to the

right, Colonel Gillespie continued his operations on the left, and towards the enemy's rear. All the batteries in succession were stormed and taken: and being now joined by the fifty-ninth regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander M'Leod, Colonel Gillespie directed the attack of the enemy's park of artillery and reserve. The enemy's cavalry formed upon the left of the line threatened to charge, but were repulsed by the well directed fire of a party of the fifty-ninth, who were sent against them. The same gallant corps then moved on in columns, along the face of the redoubt, No. 4, and gained the salient angle of the enemy's line of reserve, drawn up on the rear of their park guns and horse artillery, with a double front nearly at right angles; their rear and flanks being covered by the barracks and the small fort of Cornelis. The attack was carried into effect with the greatest promptitude; and though the assailants were saluted with a shower of grape, the enemy was driven from all his guns. An attempt was then made to effect a stand in front of fort Cornelis, sheltered by the barracks, from whence a sharp fire of musketry was kept up;

but being soon driven from this last ground, and the small fort itself having been carried by our troops, the enemy broke, and dispersed in all directions.

Whilst these operations were going on by the force under Colonel Gillespie, two other attacks were made; one on the opposite side of the great river, by the column under Major Yule, at Campong Malayo; but finding the bridge in flames, and almost burnt down, the troops here employed could only fire their two six pounders of horse artillery across the river; by which, however, the enemy were greatly annoyed in their retreat. The other attack under Lieutenant-Colonel William M'Leod, of the sixty-ninth regiment, was made on the opposite side from the main assault, having for its object a redoubt in that quarter, which was gallantly carried, though with the death of the brave officer by whom the column was conducted.

The remainder of the army, with the commander-in-chief at their head, and Major-General Wetherall, Colonel Wood, commanding the reserve, and Colonel Adams, commanding

the left brigade of the line, threatened the enemy in front, where our batteries were placed, joined by a body of seamen armed with pikes, under Captain Sayer of the royal navy.

To disconcert the enemy as much as possible, Sir Samuel Auchmuty had directed a small party to be placed behind a rising ground, about two hundred paces in front of the right of their lines, with orders to open a fire as soon as the attack by Colonel Gillespie should commence. These orders were punctually obeyed; and the enemy concluding it to be a front attack, opened a heavy fire along the whole face, which produced the effect that had been expected; for the enemy being persuaded that their front was the object of attack, could not draw any supplies from thence to resist that which was really made, and it exhausted their fire before our troops on that side were exposed to it.

The main attack having been so successfully accomplished, all the other parties rushed in from their respective points, and together joined in pursuit of the flying enemy.

Colonel Gillespie, weakened by a slow fever, and overcome with fatigue from his extraor-

dinary exertions, which were all on foot, as the nature of the country did not allow the use of horses at the onset, and from a blow or contusion which he received in the attack on the enemy's park, fainted in the arms of two officers. But he soon recovered; and seeing the cavalry come up, he accompanied them on a horse cut from the enemy's guns, till his own charger arrived, which he instantly mounted, and headed the dragoons in a pursuit that continued ten miles. The enemy rallied several times; but though their generals and other superior officers made every exertion to effect a retreat under cover of the woods, all their endeavours proved unavailing. At one place they attempted to make a stand behind broken-down carts and thick hedges, under the support of four horse artillery guns; but our cavalry, led on by Colonel Gillespie, charged in sections through the avenues, in the face of a tremendous fire, with such impetuosity as to bear down all before them. The French superior officers and sharpshooters remained in the rear, using every means to get their people off, who retired between two rivers, along a wide road; but the rout was

rendered complete without any material loss on the part of the victors. An excellent officer, however, Lieutenant Hutchins, of the twenty-second dragoons, was killed by a grape-shot at the side of Colonel Gillespie; and so close was the combat in general, that every officer was engaged at times hand to hand. Colonel Gillespie took one general in the batteries, another in the charge, and a colonel; besides having a personal affair, in which another colonel of the enemy fell by his arm.

Sir Samuel Auchmuty, in giving an account of the loss of the enemy to Lord Minto, says, "About one thousand have been buried in the works; multitudes were cut down in the retreat; the rivers are choaked up with dead; and the huts and woods were filled with the wounded, who have since expired. We have taken near five thousand prisoners; among whom are three general officers, thirty-four field officers, seventy captains, and one hundred and fifty subaltern officers. General Janssens made his escape with difficulty during the action, and reached Buitenzorg, a distance of thirty miles, with a few cavalry, the sole remains of

an army of ten thousand men. This place he has since evacuated, and fled to the eastward. A detachment of our troops is in possession of it.

" The superior discipline and invincible courage which have so highly distinguished the British army, were never more fully displayed; and I have the heartfelt pleasure to add, that they have not been clouded by any acts of insubordination.

" I have the honour to enclose a copy of the orders I have directed to be issued, thanking the troops in general for their services, and particularizing some of the officers, who, from their rank or situations, were more fortunate than their equally gallant companions, in opportunities of distinguishing themselves, and serving their sovereign and their country. But I must not omit noticing to your lordship the very particular merit of Colonel Gillespie, to whose assistance, in planning the principal attack, and to whose gallantry, energy, and judgment in executing it, the success is greatly to be attributed."

"Thus," to use the language of Lord Minto in his letter to the Earl of Liverpool, "the conquest of Java was substantially accomplished; and an empire, which for two centuries has contributed greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected states of Europe, was wrested from the short usurpation of the French government, added to the dominion of the British crown, and converted, from a seat of hostile machination, and commercial competition, into an augmentation of British power and prosperity. For this signal, most splendid, and illustrious service, Great Britain was indebted to the truly British intrepidity of as brave an army as ever did honour to our country; to the professional skill and spirit of their officers; and to the wisdom, decision, and firmness of the eminent man who directed their courage, and led them to victory."

Before his departure from Java, the governor-general signified his intention of commemorating the conquest of Java, and the valour displayed in that atchievement, by medals, to

be distributed among the troops, and by erecting a monument at Calcutta to the memory of those who had fallen in this arduous service.

This last design was carried into effect at the private expense of Lord Minto, but the former was taken up by the British government at home, of which, as well as of the approbation of the sovereign, proper notice was given by the noble Secretary of State to General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, in the following terms:

"The important result of an expedition, which has wrested from the enemy the only remaining settlement which they possessed in the east, and has left them without a colony in any part of the world, has afforded the greatest satisfaction to His Royal Highness.

"Whilst he fully appreciates the wisdom and prudence with which this most important enterprize has been planned, he is sensible that the splendid success which has attended it, and has brought it to so complete and speedy an issue, is principally to be ascribed to the distinguished gallantry and spirit displayed by the army under your command, in a succession of the most brilliant operations, and to the judg-

ment and decision so conspicuously manifested by you, during their progress, from the first landing of the troops on the fourth of August, to the day in which the works at Cornelis were carried, and the whole of the French army finally dispersed. His Royal Highness has commanded me to convey to you, in the strongest terms, his approbation of your conduct, and that of the brave army under your command; and he designs that the high sense which he entertains of their services on this most important occasion, may by you be made known to them in public orders.

" As it is His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's intention to confer medals upon the officers employed on this service, in conformity to the principle which has of late been adopted with respect to the campaigns in Spain and Portugal, I am to desire that you will furnish me with the names of those officers of His Majesty's land forces, and those of the East India Company, who have particularly distinguished themselves."

On the entire surrender of Java and its dependencies to the British dominion, Lord Minto

and Sir Samuel Auchmuty returned to Bengal, leaving the civil government to the care of Mr. Raffles, and the direction of the military affairs to Colonel Gillespie. But the great exertions which this brave officer had made at a time when the state of his health was very tender, and the fatigue which he underwent in an ardent and zealous attention to his various duties, produced a fever so violent as nearly to baffle all medical skill. Happily, when the hopes of his friends were almost exhausted, and when the greatest stretch of scientific judgment could do no more, nature prevailed in restoring him to the service of his country, and to new pursuits in the career of glory.

The conquest which had been atchieved did not bring with it a state of repose to our gallant troops, nor of ease to their commander; for the utmost activity was rendered necessary, in consequence of the hostile disposition of the native princes, and the well-founded apprehension of a combination among them to effect the utter expulsion of the Europeans from the island. But while our military commander was employed in those measures which he conceived

to be expedient for the security of the colony, his presence was required on the island of Sumatra, where cruelties of the most atrocious description had been recently perpetrated on the Dutch factory by the sultaun, whose guilt received an aggravation from the circumstance that his family were indebted for the throne which they possessed to the Dutch government.

The eldest son of this sovereign, Pangarang Ratoo, a prince of the most libidinous habits and perfidious character, in one of his nocturnal rambles, made an attempt upon the wife of an industrious Chinese, whose screams brought the patrole from the Dutch factory to her assistance; and the guard, unconscious of the quality of the ravisher, were very near taking him prisoner. The prince, however, plunged into the river, and having reached his boat, he was heard to threaten the utter extirpation of the Dutch settlement, within three days, on account of the interference of their guard in preventing him from committing an act of violence. This menace he contrived to carry into effect, by prevailing on his father to send an invitation to the Dutch Resident to come over to the palace at

Palimbang, which was imprudently accepted by the latter, contrary to the advice of his friends. The fort belonging to the factory was of sufficient strength, by situation, and in the number of its garrison, to have made a long defence; but availing themselves of the weakness of the Resident, armed Malays intruded themselves, one by one, in his absence, under various pretences; and suddenly overpowering the guard, seized upon all the persons whom they found there, as well natives as Europeans; and having bound them, hurried them on board the prows prepared for their conveyance down the river, near the mouth of which they were all put to death. An European lady, the wife of an officer, not able to endure the thoughts of a separation from her husband, followed him on board with her infant, and shared his fate, after suffering the most shocking treatment from these monsters. The other unfortunate women, with their children, fled to the woods, where they lingered out a wretched existence, naked and forlorn, a prey to famine, disease, and the wild beasts.

The exact day on which this dreadful catas-

trophe took place, could never be correctly ascertained, but from the circumstance of the sultaun's refusal in November, 1811, to renew his relations with the government established at Batavia, and from his having prohibited a British detachment to advance to Palimbang, it is most reasonable to conjecture that the tragedy occurred soon after the conquest of Java. It is probable, indeed, that the intelligence of this event led the sultaun to form an idea of being now enabled to throw off all dependance on the government at Java, and of completely exterminating the Dutch establishment.

But whatever were the motives of this sanguinary chief in the perpetration of so perfidious a massacre, there was only one course to be adopted by the council at Batavia, on hearing of the outrage that had been committed upon the unoffending inhabitants of a settlement, which, as being one of the dependencies appertaining to Java, had a claim to British protection. To punish, therefore, this infamous treachery, an expedition was immediately fitted out, and sailed from Batavia on the twentieth of March, 1812, under the orders of Colonel

Gillespie, to whom the sole management was confided. On the third of April, the fleet reached Nanka Island, where it continued a week, while the artificers were employed on shore, in constructing platforms for the field pieces, in making coverings to shelter the troops, and in completing the boats intended for the passage up the river of Palimbang. On the tenth, the fleet got under weigh, and came to an anchor at noon, on the fifteenth, opposite the west channel of the river, where two days were taken up in getting some of the shipping over the bar. In the evening of the seventeenth, the greater part of the troops destined to proceed up the river were removed from the large vessels on board the armed brigs and small craft; but a violent storm, which came on the same night, considerably damaged the boats, and destroyed the coverings which had been made with so much labour. The few serviceable flat boats that could afford any shelter to the men were appropriated to the field artillery, and the reception of such troops as could be accommodated in them.

At flood tide, on the evening of the follow-

ing day, the remainder of the troops having been removed to their respective vessels, the whole were carried up the stream, and about midnight came to an anchor. The great distance at which the City of Palimbang is situated from the entrance, and the little knowledge which Europeans have hitherto been able to obtain of this country, rendered the utmost caution necessary in conducting the present expedition. But in addition to the natural difficulties which were to be encountered, a very formidable resistance was to be expected from the powerful means and activity of the enemy. Besides the batteries at Borang, which were most advantageously situated for the annoyance of an invader, the passage of the river was rendered extremely perilous by fire-rafts, and numerous prows, together with floating batteries, all placed in the best order, and in constant readiness for active operation.

The tyrant against whom our force was sent had been enabled to make ample preparations for his defence or flight, by the delay which the fleet experienced in the straits, owing to contrary winds and other causes. Of the op-

portunity thus afforded him, the sultaun did not fail to profit, with a view to both objects; and whilst his plans of resistance were formed upon a large, combined, and extensive scale, he had cunning enough to provide for his personal safety, by removing early his women and treasure into the interior of the country. It was evident, in short, at every stage, that the concern in which our troops were now engaged was one that required the greatest judgment, and the most determined spirit, on the part of the leader, who was under the necessity of exercising his own mind continually, in devising how to overcome new obstacles that arose in all directions, and that multiplied in various forms of difficulty and danger, as the flotilla proceeded up the river, where, at times, some of the vessels got entangled among the branches of trees and shrubs, which were obliged to be cut away.

Early in the morning of the twentieth of April, an ambassador, named Pangarang Sherif, arrived from the sultaun of Palimbang, with an insidious request, to know the intentions of our commander in thus visiting his dominions. In

reply to this message, the colonel laconically observed that his business lay with the sultaun in person, to whom he was the bearer of certain propositions on the part of the British government.

In proportion as the distance from the sea increased, the passage of the fleet became slower, and at the ebb tide, the whole were obliged to anchor. The next day the sultaun sent another messenger of high rank, and a relation of his own, to the colonel, with a letter, in which the hypocrite pretended to congratulate him on his arrival; and among other crafty attempts, to impose upon his credulity, he affected a great desire to live on terms of friendship with the English. The colonel, however, was not to be deceived by such professions, and coolly replied, that he should be at Palimbang in two days, where he expected to have a personal interview with the sultaun, to whom he had particulars of the utmost importance to communicate: at the same time, assuring the inhabitants of the protection of the British government. While the ambassador was waiting for this answer, another arrived, bearing a similar epistle

from his master, and requesting an immediate answer respecting the real objects of the armament. Both messengers returned together, and at sunrise on the twenty-second the flotilla came in sight of the batteries of Borang; but as the Procris sloop happened just then to get aground, the rest were under the necessity of coming to an anchor, about five miles from the batteries.

For the defence of this post, it was here discovered, that in addition to the armed prows, a large Arab ship was employed, which, with the floating batteries, were moored across the river, so as to rake with their guns the whole line, whilst the numerous artillery on shore commanded the entire breadth of the channel; thus threatening, by a concentrated fire, the utter destruction of any force that should attempt to force a passage. Besides all these works of defence, numerous fire-rafts were placed on the front and flank of the batteries, ready to be turned adrift against our shipping: piles of wood were also driven into the river, defending the approach to the batteries in boats, while a strong palisade protected the rear and flanks.

At this place another messenger brought a letter from the sultaun, importing that he should be happy in seeing the commander of the expedition at Palimbang; but desiring that he would dispense with a large force, and visit the capital unattended, lest the presence of so many foreign troops should occasion confusion among the inhabitants. In this proposition, the treacherous policy of the man was too strongly marked to escape detection; and, instead of listening to it, Colonel Gillespie demanded an unmolested passage, with a hostage of distinction as a security for the maintenance of good faith. These requisitions were not only acceded to, but in addition to them, the messenger voluntarily offered to give up the batteries, and also the ship which was lying there. On the twenty-third, some officers proceeded to inspect the ship, but on their approach they discovered signs of resistance, accompanied by violent shouts from the batteries, which were too plainly indicative of hostility to admit of any farther advance with prudence.

Things were now come to that extremity, as to admit of no delay; and, therefore, Captain

Meares, the Malay interpreter, accompanied by the person who had been left as a hostage, proceeded to Borang, for the purpose of demanding whether the batteries would be given up, conformably to promise; or whether it was intended to resist the passage of the flotilla. Colonel Gillespie followed these messengers quickly, at the head of some detachments, in light boats, supported by the launches and the field artillery in the flat boats. This promptitude had the desired effect; for when the chief pangarang, or officer, found that no excuses could prevail, he surrendered the works, which were instantly occupied by our troops. Thus, Borang, the key of Palimbang, and the main confidence of the sultaun, fell into our hands on the morning of the twenty-fourth of April; and in the evening of the same day, the troops, being re-embarked, made way to a small distance: but now fires appeared in various directions, and several of the rafts, consisting of magazines filled with combustibles, and fastened together, were set on flames, to annoy those of our vessels that had not passed the batteries. The wonted alacrity of British

seamen, however, succeeded in preventing this mischief, by cutting the rafts asunder in time, and thereby putting a stop to the general conflagration which menaced our small squadron with destruction. Early on the next morning, the owner of the Arab ship arrived, intreating that she might be restored, which was granted. This man brought the intelligence, that the sultaun, on being informed of the surrender of Borang, had fled from Palimbang, which induced Colonel Gillespie to form the resolution of immediately hastening forward with the light boats. Whilst this arrangement was in preparation, another Arab confirmed the account of the sultaun's flight, with the additional news, that a general disorder prevailed in consequence of it throughout the capital, where it was reported that a massacre of the wealthy Chinese and other inhabitants was intended that very night. The colonel, therefore, without hesitation, determined to proceed with the Arab chief in his canoe, accompanied by Captain Meares and a Spanish gentleman, who acted as Malay interpreters. In that and another canoe were distributed seven grenadiers of the fifty-

ninth regiment; and these were followed by Captain Bowen of the navy, Major Butler, Deputy Adjutant-General, and Major Thorn, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, in the gig belonging to the Phœnix, and ten other grenadiers of the above regiment in the barge of the same ship, with Lieutenant Monday of the navy, and Lieutenant Forest of the fifty-ninth; the remaining troops under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod having orders to follow with all speed. The distance was twenty miles, so that it was quite dark when the party reached old Palimbang. The canoes, with the colonel, having gained considerably on the other boats, were now completely out of sight, when the report of a signal gun, fired by the enemy, excited great alarm and anxiety among those who were in the rear. A horrible yell and shrieking was next heard, and conflagrations were perceived, extending along the banks of the river for the space of above seven miles. By the redoubled exertions of the crews in the boats, they fortunately succeeded in coming up to the assistance of the few who had taken the lead all the way, which junction was formed at a most im-

portant and critical moment; the particulars of which, as already given to the public in another work, it will be necessary here to repeat.

To paint the horrors of the scene that presented itself to view in proper colours, or to attempt an expression of the sensation it was calculated to excite, would be a difficult undertaking. Romance never described any thing near so hideous—nor has the imagination ever embodied representations equally appalling with those realities which here struck the senses; nor will the undaunted act that gained possession of the fort, the palace, and the batteries, be scarcely credited. Undismayed in the face of numerous bodies of armed men, Colonel Gillespie stepped boldly on shore, at eight o'clock at night; and with those who had accompanied him in the canoe, and the seven grenadiers, marched through a multitude of Arabs and Malays, whose formidable weapons, steeped in poison, reflected the light of the torches.

Tremendous battlements, with immense gates, leading from one vast area to another, received the small party, and presented to them

the frightful spectacle of human blood, still reeking and flowing on the pavement. The massy gates closed upon them, and the ensanguined court-yards through which they passed appeared like the passage to a slaughter-house.

While they were in this dreadful situation, a Malay, who had passed through the crowd, approached the colonel, and was walking close by his side, when a large double-edged knife was secretly put into his hands by one of his countrymen. It was a dark, stormy night, and a ray of lightning, at the very instant when the fellow was pushing the knife up his loose sleeve for concealment, discovered the weapon to the keen eye of the colonel, who, turning round, had the man seized, and thus happily frustrated the murderous intent. The weapon was found, but the Malay contrived, by mingling with the crowd, to effect his escape.

The palace exhibited a melancholy mixture of cruelty and devastation, surpassing that which had already met the eye. Murder had here been succeeded by rapine; and while the place was completely ransacked, the floors were literally

clotted with gore. On every side the most woeful spectacles were to be seen, and they were rendered still more awful by the glare of the surrounding conflagration, and vivid gleams of lightning which flashed amidst rolling peals of thunder. The devouring flames, which continued to spread destruction, in spite of the rain that poured down in torrents, had now reached the outer buildings of the palace, and threatened the quarter where the English party had taken their station. The crackling of bamboos, resembling the discharge of musketry —the tumbling in of burning roofs, with a tremendous crash—and the near approach of the fire, added to the surrounding danger of a hostile multitude, altogether, gave a fearful aspect to the condition of our little band, which consisted only of seventeen grenadiers, the officers already mentioned, and a few seamen. Having carefully reconnoitred by torch-light the interior of the palace-court, and ordered all the avenues, except one, to be barricadoed, Colonel Gillespie placed the grenadiers at the principal entrance, and the strictest guard was preserved. Soon after midnight, Major Trench, with about

sixty men of the eighty-ninth regiment, arrived; and the remaining part of the advance, under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, joined the little garrison early in the morning. Thus, an unprecedented act of daring enterprize, judiciously conceived, and rapidly executed, gained the possession of the fort and batteries, defended by two hundred and forty-two pieces of cannon, without the loss of a man.

The sudden arrival of a few British, at a late hour in the evening, struck a panic into the adherents of the sultaun, who, believing that the numbers were more formidable, immediately dispersed, and thereby relieved the town from the misery with which it had been threatened by the barbarity of its chief.

The characteristic humanity of the British appeared on this occasion, in the measures that were adopted to secure tranquillity; and these were carried into effect so promptly, that the inhabitants, recovering their spirits, assumed confidence, and many who had fled into the woods returned to their houses. To the mass of the people, this revolution was peculiarly grateful, as it relieved them from a tyranny which was

become insupportable; for, as the injustice of the sultaun knew no bounds, so his cruelty was regardless of its objects. The ruin that marked his flight sufficiently evinced his total want of principle as well as of feeling, since carnage and rapine did not affect strangers and enemies merely, but his own people, who had a natural claim to his sympathy and protection.

In such an exigency, therefore, it not only became a right, but the duty of the victors to supply the vacated government in a manner best calculated to secure internal tranquillity and fidelity with regard to foreign relations. Accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of April, when the British flag was hoisted under a royal salute, Pangerang Adipatti, brother of the sultaun, returned to Palimbang, on the invitation of the commander of the forces. This prince bore an excellent character for gentleness and liberality, a proof of which appeared in his exertions to prevent the massacre of the Dutch factory. On all accounts, therefore, he was considered as the most proper person to fill the vacant throne, and as such he was treated on his arrival by Colonel Gillespie and the officers.

of his staff. But though the establishment of a legitimate authority at this time was absolutely necessary to prevent anarchy, the management of the business required no small portion of address towards chiefs who were distinguished by craft and treachery. These men displayed, on the present occasion, as much refined cunning, and contrived as many schemes of delay, as would have characterized a convention of European diplomatists. Though the power of the late sultaun was no longer admitted as a matter of question, it was known that he and his son had still their secret partizans; and from the influence of the riches which had been carried off, there was every reason to apprehend that the number of these adherents would increase to the equal injury of the new monarch and the people, when deprived of the protection afforded by the presence of the British armament. To counteract the evil, and prevent the danger, arrangements were entered into, and nearly brought to a happy termination, when a sudden mischance threw all into confusion, and almost annihilated the hopes of those who had the general welfare at

heart. On the third of May, it was reported that a quantity of arms had been secretly conveyed into a house, which afterwards proved to be that of Pangerang Adipatti. The soldiers, who were sent to examine the premises, having entered abruptly, found a party of chiefs there, assembled in consultation on the intended proceedings for the settlement of the government. These persons were extremely surprised at this intrusion; and one of them, drawing his criss, struck at the officer of the guard, but missed his aim, and received the blow of a sabre in return, one of the soldiers at the same time running him through with his bayonet. In this unfortunate fray the Pangerang, with his friends, fled from the house, while the European party returned to their quarters, bearing, as trophies of victory, spears and crisses highly enriched and ornamented, but which they were compelled instantly to carry back when the unlucky mistake was discovered. The Malay chief, who lay weltering in his blood, received also the best medical assistance that could be afforded; but his wounds were so serious, that he died shortly afterwards.

Colonel Gillespie, deeply affected by this unfortunate transaction, immediately took those steps which were best adapted to restore confidence and tranquillity. He, therefore, caused proclamations to be issued in explanation of the affair, and sent a letter to the Pangerang Adipatti, who returned the same evening to his house, where he was visited by the colonel and his staff, which allayed the fears that had been excited, and gave general satisfaction. The terms of a treaty having been settled, the inauguration of the sovereign was fixed for the fourteenth of May, which, being the day of the new moon, was considered as the most fortunate for the commencement of a new reign.

At the time appointed, Adipatti landed in front of the palace, and was received by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander M'Leod and his suite, who conducted him to the gate of the inner court, where, being met by Colonel Gillespie, he was led by him to the public hall. Here a throne was erected, covered with a canopy of yellow silk, the distinctive colour of royalty among these people; and on the left was placed a couch of crimson velvet, on which the colonel

and the monarch seated themselves. The Europeans having taken their station on the left of the couch, and the principal natives being seated on the ground, the following proclamation was read aloud in the Malay language:

" The late sultaun, Ratoo Mahmoud Badruddin, having forfeited his right to the sovereignty of Palimbang by various acts of rapine, treachery, and inhumanity, particularly the murder of the persons belonging to the Dutch factory, the plunder of their property, and the demolition of their fort, contrary to the laws of nations, and his own solemn engagements with the Dutch, to whose rights the English Company have succeeded, by the cession of Java, and its dependencies; and whereas the said sultaun has also abdicated his crown by flight, the commander of the British forces, vested with full powers to that effect by the government of Java, hereby declares Mahmoud Badruddin to be deposed from the throne of this kingdom. Moreover, the said commander of the forces, considering the virtues of Pangerang Adipatti, and the love manifested towards him by the inhabitants of this country, as well the

natives as the Arab and Chinese settlers, has, agreeable to his instructions, chosen the said Pangerang Adipatti to fill the vacant throne, subject to the confirmation of the government of Java, and of the supreme government of India. The said Pangerang Adipatti is therefore hereby proclaimed the true and lawful sovereign of Palimbang and its dependencies, by the style and title of Sultaun Ratoo Ahmed Nujmuddin, and all the people of this kingdom are enjoined to yield him obedience."

Besides the important object of providing for the order and security of this nation, our commander had another case that required at this time the exercise of his prudence and firmness. The Chinese residents at Palimbang, a people remarkable for their pacific and industrious character, had already suffered so much from the rapacity of the Malays, that it was reasonable to dread the renewal of their wrongs on the departure of the British forces. As these people were formerly under the protection of the Dutch factory, they had a peculiar claim to our interference in their favour, independently of the general interests of humanity,

which laid upon our commander an obligation to shield, by every means in his power, the honest and helpless from robbery and oppression. Conformably to this principle of justice, therefore, a treaty was formed, solemnly and explicitly binding the new government to maintain inviolably the persons and property of the several classes and denominations therein specified. This salutary proceeding being determined, and the instrument ratified, the interpreter addressed the assembly, and demanded "whether it was their wish that Pangerang Adipatti should reign over them;" to which they gave their assent by loud acclamation.

Colonel Gillespie then taking the sovereign by the hand, respectfully placed him in the throne; and immediately on taking his seat, a royal salute was fired from our artillery, while the standard of the sultaun was displayed on the palace, in the room of the British flag, which had been regularly hoisted ever since the place was in our possession.

When the sovereign had received and returned the salutations of the audience, Colonel Gillespie addressed him by an inter-

preter, briefly stating the causes which had occasioned this revolution in the government, and concluding in these emphatic terms:— "May your reign be prosperous and happy! May you contribute, by your goodness and justice, to the happiness and welfare of your subjects; and may they have reason to bless the nation that has placed you on the throne of the City of Safety!" This last expression is the favourite appellation by which Palimbang is distinguished among the Malays, and by which it is generally denominated in their historical writings.

The ceremony of the installation being finished, the colonel conducted the sultaun to the stairs, where his barge was in readiness to receive him; and when the boat put off from the shore, the vessels, which were decorated with the colours of all nations, fired a royal salute.

On the sixteenth, the British commander, and a large party of officers, supped with the sultaun, who took possession of his palace the day following, after the embarkation of the troops.

Besides the advantages resulting to the Eu-

ropean settlements in these seas, and the security afforded to the foreigners trading under their protection, the East India Company obtained by the success of this expedition an accession of territory in the cession of the island of Banca, and its dependencies, in perpetuity. Accordingly, the colonel, having taken formal possession of Banca on the twentieth of May, issued a public proclamation, concluding in these terms: "I do also will and command that this island shall be henceforward named Duke of York's Island, in honour of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces; that Minto shall be the capital of the said island, and called Minto, in honour of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of all India; that the fort now building near Minto shall be named Fort Nugent, in honour of his Excellency Sir George Nugent, Commander-in-chief of all the land forces serving in the East Indies; and that Klabut Bay, or Harbour, on the north-east side of the island, shall be called Port Wellington, in honour of General Lord Viscount Wellington, of the British army."

The commercial importance of this acquisition was, no doubt, very great, for Banca yields most of the tin that supplies the Chinese market; and the adjacent island of Billiton, which at the same time came under our dominion, is valuable for the steel used by the Malays in the manufacture of arms and tools. Another material benefit arising from the possession of Banca, was the protection hereby afforded to trade and navigation, in depriving the pirates of a place of retreat and rendezvous, where they had been long accustomed to assemble, under the auspices of the sultaun of Palimbang. It is, however, to be lamented, that the advantages which were promised by these additions to our eastern territories were sadly lessened, in consequence of the unhealthiness of the climate, particularly at Fort Nugent, the situation of which seemed to be most happy in all respects; but, contrary to human expectation, it proved a grave to many esteemed officers, as well as private soldiers.

Colonel Gillespie left this place, with his staff, on the twenty-second of May, in a small schooner; and, after a perilous passage, arrived

on the first of June at Batavia, from whence, five days afterwards, he proceeded to Samarang, whither the troops of the expedition had orders to follow with all possible dispatch. The existence of the European power on the island of Java was at this time in imminent danger of being annihilated, and the most vigorous exertions were requisite not only to preserve the colony, but the lives of the settlers, and those who were under their protection.

A combination of the native princes had been for some time secretly forming to effect this deadly object; and though some of these men were radically hostile to each other, they had no hesitation in burying their private feuds for a while, the better to accomplish the design of exterminating all the foreigners. At the head of this confederacy stood the sultaun of Mataram, whose residence was at Djoejocarta, in the centre of the island, and at a moderate distance from Samarang. This turbulent chief was solely indebted for the sovereignty which he enjoyed to the Dutch, who originally aided him in his rebellion against the Emperor of Solo, and by their powerful influence procured

the establishment of his independence. Notwithstanding, however, the obligation which he owed to these people, the ungrateful sultaun endeavoured to effect the extermination of his benefactors: and so marked was his enmity, that General Daendels undertook an expedition against him; but being apprehensive of an attack by the English, he thought it most prudent to compromise matters for the present; and as the sultaun, on his part, was not thoroughly prepared, he consented to pay a large tribute to the government of Batavia. The enmity of this prince did not abate by the humiliation to which he had been driven; but, on the contrary, it rankled in his vengeful mind; and the absence of our commander, with a large force in Sumatra, was seized upon by him as most favourable to his projects. His exertions were so successful in bringing the other chiefs to a cordial co-operation in his views, that even his old enemy, the Emperor of Solo, for a season laid aside his resentment, and gave his countenance to the coalition.

Such was the state of affairs when our commander returned from Palimbang; but the only

part of the force that arrived at this time consisted of a company of grenadiers belonging to the fifty-ninth regiment, which came in the Phœnix frigate, by the direct passage; while the remainder of the fleet, by going round the Island of Banca, and passing over to Borneo, were delayed a month. This was a vexatious loss under such circumstances; but the evil of procrastination being infinitely dangerous, it was resolved to move what troops could be collected towards Djoejocarta, that in case hostilities should become unavoidable, the confederation might, if possible, be crushed in the beginning.

The commander of the forces, accompanied by the lieutenant-governor, came before that place on the evening of the seventeenth of June; and the former having received intelligence of the active preparations of the sultaun, went out to reconnoitre, in person, at the head of fifty dragoons. After making several detours, the party fell in with a large body of the sultaun's horse; but as no intention was formed of acting offensively, our interpreter received instructions to address these people in an

amicable manner, to prevail upon them to return to the crattan, or Palace of Djoejocarta. But neither solicitations nor even menaces could induce them to withdraw, and some stones were hurled at our soldiers from slings, which these people use with great skill.

At length, towards dark, they consented to retire, but on moving off, they suddenly threw their spears at our men, by which a sergeant and four dragoons were wounded. This treacherous act was followed by several attacks during the night, which obliged our soldiers to cut their way through the surrounding multitudes, with the loss of one man killed and one wounded. Still, being unwilling to proceed to extremities, the lieutenant-governor sent a messenger to the sultaun, with proposals for a negociation, which met with a haughty refusal and defiance.

Thus, it was evident, that the peace of the colony depended solely upon the success of our arms; and though our troops were but few in number, the greatest confidence could be placed in their intrepidity. The force already assembled here consisted of part of the fourteenth regiment of foot, part of the royal light

infantry, and the third volunteer battalion; a portion of artillery, and two troops of the twenty-second dragoons. The remainder, with the principal supply of advance, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander M'Leod, were expected the same night.

It should be observed in this place, that when the Dutch established themselves in the best part of this island, they stipulated with the native princes for the erection of forts near the respective capitals, which gave the Europeans a commanding influence over those places. One of these stood in front of the Crattan of Djoejocarta; and when the messenger returned with the unfavourable answer of the sultaun, a fire was immediately opened from the fort, which was returned as quickly on the part of the enemy.

This crattan, constituting the residence of the sultaun and his court, comprehends a space of near three miles, and is surrounded by a broad, wet ditch, with drawbridges, a thick and high rampart with bastions, and defended by about one hundred pieces of cannon. Within are numerous squares and court-yards,

enclosed with high walls, extremely strong, and capable of defence. A double row of cannon protected the principal square in front; besides which, it was flanked with batteries, lately erected, to the right and left. These formidable works were manned by seventeen thousand regular troops, whilst an armed population of above one hundred thousand in number occupied the adjacent campongs for many miles round, and along the roads.

The Dutch fort, situated about eight hundred yards from the crattan, was so ill constructed, as to be hardly adapted for any other purpose than that of a depôt for military stores, the supply of which at this time was but scanty.

A depôt of powder belonging to the enemy blew up soon after the commencement of the firing; and the same thing occurred on our side, by which several persons were severely scorched and lacerated. This last explosion set fire to some of the buildings in the fort, but it was quickly got under, and the cannonade continued. Parties of horse were sent out to scour the country, that, by keeping the enemy

employed, they might be prevented from impeding the advance of the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, then on the march from Salatiga. So confident was the sultaun of being able to overwhelm our small force, that he sent out a flag of truce the same evening, demanding an unconditional surrender; and, indeed, considering the extreme disparity of numbers that were opposed to each other in this contest, his arrogance was natural and in character. But our inferiority in some respects was abundantly compensated in steadiness and valour, a proof of which appeared the same night, when a small division of the Bengal light infantry, under Major Dalton, was attacked without effect four times successively, by the enemy in the Dutch town between the Fort and the Crattan. On the high road by which Colonel M'Leod and his detachment had to march, were numerous parties employed in destroying the bridges, and devising obstacles to impede their progress. Our dragoons had frequent skirmishes with these parties; but the country was so completely overspread by the enemy, that it was almost impossible to send a messenger to the advancing forces. Colonel

M'Leod offered a reward to any man who would carry an order to Captain Byers, commanding a detachment of royal artillery, and who was then a day's march behind. This desperate service was undertaken by John O'Brien, a private in the Madras horse artillery, who galloped through the midst of the enemy's parties, delivered his message, and returned without injury: for which he was deservedly rewarded by the commander-in-chief with public thanks and a gold medal.

On the morning of the nineteenth of June, the troops under Colonel M'Leod reached head quarters; but the long marches which they had made, and the excessive fatigue they had endured, by being much exposed in that intensely hot climate, rendered some rest indispensable. In the mean time, however, the cannonade was continued, and the most active operations were carried on to harass the enemy, by setting fire to their camps.

In the evening, all the troops were ordered into the fort, which had the effect of deceiving the sultaun and his people into a belief that no immediate attack was intended on the

crattan. But as the capture of this place became now urgently necessary to prevent the insurrection which was about to take place in various parts of the island, orders were issued to prepare for the assault, the plan of which was framed in so masterly a style, as to give almost an assurance of success to the brave and undaunted men who were entrusted with the execution of it. About two hours before the dawn of day, Lieutenant-Colonel Dewar, with the troops under his direction, consisting of part of the Bengal light infantry, and the third volunteer battalion, in conjunction with the corps of Prince Prangwedona, proceeded by a circuitous course to dislodge a body of the enemy on the south side of the crattan, and then to force an entrance in by the south gate; whilst at the principal one on the north a diversion should be making under Major Grant. The main attack was entrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, who had a part of the fourteenth regiment, part of the Bengal light infantry, and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod's column of grenadiers of the fifty-ninth regiment, flank companies, and the rifle companies of the seventy-eighth made

up the main attack. In order to reach the point of escalade, this column had to move round the north-east bastion, and close under the walls; in doing which, the most profound silence was kept; and thus, the enemy being taken unawares, the column gained the spot for placing the ladders undiscovered. But just at this moment the alarm being given in the north bastion, a shower of grape was poured from the guns, by which several of our men were killed and wounded. This, however, was so far from intimidating the gallant band, that it only served to increase their energies, and to redouble their efforts. Conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, the column, headed by the grenadiers of the fourteenth, under Captain Johnston, passed over the ditch, and escaladed the ramparts on the north-east face, amidst showers of grape shot that were poured down upon them. But the fire was soon silenced by the rapid movement of the grenadiers, and the remainder of the same regiment, supported by the sharp-shooters, who sent their shot so completely into the embrazures, as to drive the enemy from their guns.

Colonel Watson pushed along the top of the

ramparts for the prince's gate, on the north face, while a party of sepoys crossed the ditch at the angle of the bastion that was the first object of attack, but which had been rendered defenceless by the explosion of its powder magazine. Then passing along the basin at the foot of the rampart to the same gate, they let down the drawbridge, for the admission of the column under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod.

It was with difficulty that the prince's gate could be blown open, on account of its strength; but while this was doing, the troops having passed the ditch, ascended upon the shoulders of one another through the embrazures, and having reinforced the column of Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, they speedily cleared the ramparts. While all this was going on in the enemy's works, a brisk fire was kept up by our fort upon the interior of the Crattan. Having taken the south-east bastion at the point of the bayonet, after enduring a tremendous fire of grape shot, which swept the ramparts, our troops rushed along the south face, where they had to encounter the enemy in great numbers. But though the conflict was desperate, our men

succeeded in opening the gate for Lieutenant-Colonel Dewar's column, who arrived at the same moment, after defeating, in the suburbs, the forces of Tomogong Senrat Deningrat, who fell in the action. The whole column now pushed on for the west gate; turning, as they went on, the captured guns against the enemy in the surrounding campongs, which contributed much to the dispersion of those troops: after which, the pieces were dismounted and thrown into the ditch. During these operations, the commander-in-chief had so disposed the cavalry and horse artillery in parties, to scour the country, and the roads leading from the Crattan, as effectually to cut off the fugitives in every direction. The principal object in this was to secure the person of the Sultaun of Mataram, as well as to prevent the escape of his principal adherents. By the judicious plan thus adopted, and the vigorous activity of those who were employed in carrying it into effect, the design succeeded, and thus a long and desultory warfare was prevented. The hereditary prince delivered himself up at the west gate; but the enemy still held out at the north-west

bastion, from whence, however, they were soon expelled. Their ultimate resort was a mosque, on the outside of the fort; and here they made a stand for some time, keeping up a brisk fire over the walls and through the openings, from one of which Colonel Gillespie received a severe wound in the arm.

The desperate and unequal conflict having lasted three hours, ended in a complete victory, and the surrender of the sultaun, which, of course, dissolved the confederacy, and saved the colony.

The loss of the enemy could not be accurately ascertained, but from the immense heaps of dead which lay on the ramparts, and in every gateway, it must have been prodigious; while on the part of the British, notwithstanding the difficulties which they had to encounter, and the resistance they experienced, it amounted only to one hundred killed and wounded.

If the valour of our troops on this signal occasion was brilliantly displayed in the firmness with which they braved death on every side, and surmounted all the obstacles that labour, numbers, and rage could throw in their way,

that glory was heightened by the moderation and generosity which distinguished their conduct in the hour of triumph. This forbearance was, indeed, the more remarkable and meritorious, from the consideration of the provocations to revenge which had been wantonly given by the enemy, who invariably treated with savage inhumanity such unfortunate persons as the chance of war threw into their hands. The British soldiers had witnessed many shocking instances of the brutal ferocity of these people during the present contest; yet, while the spectacle of their mangled and tortured comrades was fresh in the recollection of our gallant countrymen, they committed no outrage upon the persons and property of the vanquished.

The Sultaun of Mataram, as justice required, was deposed, and sent in exile to Prince of Wales's Island; but the sovereignty was continued in the person of his son, the hereditary prince, by the title of Hamang Kubuana the Third. Among other acquisitions which the British obtained by this decisive blow, was the cession of the rich province of Codoe, and

some districts containing the most valuable forests of teak in the island. The more effectually to prevent any future attack, a third power was established, by creating Nunga de Suma, brother of the late sultaun, a sovereign prince, with considerable estates. Thus, the once potent and extensive Empire of Mataram, formerly enjoyed exclusively by the Soosoohoonan, is now divided into three separate principalities; and the favourite project of the native chiefs to destroy the European settlement in Java terminated in the full and apparently permanent establishment of that dominion over the island.

For this important service, the consequences of which cannot fail to prove of the most essential benefit to successive generations, the army and its leader received the thanks of the Lieutenant-Governor of Java, of the Governor-General in Council, and of Sir George Nugent, Commander-in-Chief in India. At this time it was known that the gallant officer, whose promptitude had produced these momentous results, was promoted to the rank of Major-General, his appointment having taken place on the first day of that very year.

The general orders of the commander-in-chief very properly combined the two services of the Palimbang expedition and the one recently performed; on both of which the language is so very forcible and honourable, that it would be improper to pass it over without extracting what more particularly concerns the subject of the present memoir.

" His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, having, while at a distance from the seat of government, received from Major-General Gillespie, commander of the forces on the island of Java, the official papers of the success of the expedition to Palimbang, and of the glorious result of the assault on the strong fortifications of Djoejocarta, on the twentieth of June, 1812, offers his cordial congratulations to Major-General Gillespie, and all the officers and troops who had the honour of serving under his personal command on both those important occasions, but more particularly at the ever-memorable assault of Djoejocarta.

" Although the feeble use which the enemy made of the extensive means of defence and annoyance at Palimbang deprived the expedition

against its barbarous prince of that character of brilliancy which peculiarly belongs to active operations in the field, the commander-in-chief considers the troops employed in that difficult service as highly deserving of his approbation and thanks, for their exact discipline, patient endurance of fatigue and privation, and forwardness on every occasion which seemed likely to require their active exertions.

"The personal intrepidity and presence of mind displayed by Major-General Gillespie on this occasion, by which the lives and property of a numerous population were rescued from impending destruction, and placed under the safeguard of British humanity and good faith, reflect additional lustre on the high reputation which that officer had already acquired in his distinguished career of public service.

"Nor are the wise and prudent arrangements, by which Major-General Gillespie accomplished in a short time all the important objects which government had proposed by the expedition to Palimbang, less deserving of the commander-in-chief's public approbation and applause. Whether the commander-in-chief views the

well-timed promptitude and decision with which the resolution to assault the crattan of Djoejocarta was adopted; the judgment with which the attack was planned; the order, rapidity, and gallantry with which it was executed by the brave troops, who, emulating the example of their leader, and relying on his established character and talents, and their own valour and discipline, disregarded numbers superior beyond all proportion in enduring warfare, and surmounted every obstacle to complete success; his Excellency must ever consider the storming of the crattan of Djoejocarta by the troops under Major-General Gillespie, as ranking amongst the foremost of those great atchievements which adorn the military annals of our country, and have increased its power and reputation in Asia.

"The commander-in-chief in India desires to offer the tribute of his warmest thanks and applause to Major-General Gillespie, commanding the forces in Java, for the energy, skill, and valour, evinced by him in the conduct of the arduous service in question, the successful termination of which has superadded to all the

splendour of heroism the substantial advantage of establishing the British supremacy over Java, and the tranquillity of the island, on the solid foundations of justice and power."

But though these brilliant services received the most honourable marks of public approbation, and will descend to distant ages in the page of history, they added little to the fortune of the brave man who performed them. After securing the conquest of Java, and extending our dominion in the eastern seas, by his determined valour and liberal policy, the major-general found his reward only in an increase of glory, and the satisfaction resulting from a conscientious discharge of his duty. Leaving to those who shared not in the dangers attending the acquisition to profit by the advantages which it procured, he devoted his constant attention to those objects only, which appeared, in his view, best calculated to advance the interests of the colony.

It happened, however, with him, as it often has done to other military commanders of high spirit and disinterested character, to be thwarted and misrepresented, where it was reasonable to have expected cordial support and liberal con-

fidence. Having expressed an opinion unfavourable to the resolution of others on some matters of local policy, though without attempting to prevent the measure, he thereby gave offence to the parties who had an interest in the proceeding. An unsuccessful expedition, that was undertaken contrary to his advice, and in which he had no concern, against the piratical state of Sambas, on the coast of Borneo, contributed to the mortifications which the major-general was doomed to undergo. He had earnestly remonstrated on the impropriety of such an enterprize during a bad monsoon, and with means inadequate to the object; notwithstanding which, it was pertinaciously adopted: but the failure, while it confirmed the correctness of his judgment, only served, at the same time, to multiply his vexations. From the first moment that he became a member of the government, he made it his ardent and constant endeavour to promote the benefit of the island; and in doing this, he incurred considerable private expense, which was the more cheerfully borne when he perceived the good effects produced by his labours among the inhabitants. It was

extremely natural that a mind so enlarged should have looked for similar zeal and generosity in those who had been associated with him by the supreme authority of India. Unfortunately, the military commander in Java did not meet with that congeniality of sentiment which the public good required, and to which, by his own candour and readiness to oblige, he was fairly entitled. Consultations were held without his knowledge, and measures carried in direct opposition to his judgment, even in the department which may be properly said to have been exclusively his own. The regulations and improvements which were conceived by him essentially necessary to the comfort, and even the health of the troops, were obstinately rejected. Thus, for the want of convenient buildings to accommodate the European soldiers in a climate proverbially fatal, many valuable lives, it is to be feared, were cut off, that might have been prolonged for the benefit of their country. Another measure which the general had at heart, connected with his professional objects, was the erection of proper depôts for the security of military stores; but,

though the loss sustained by spoliation and damage rendered such a proposal unobjectionable, it met with the fate attending every thing that had the welfare of the army and the satisfaction of its commander in view. But this was not all, for the humane disposition of the general extended itself towards the native troops, who had been raised for the service of the colony within the island, and whose good opinion and fidelity it was the interest of the Europeans to conciliate. Wisely, therefore, did our commander recommend an attention to the comforts and regular payments of these corps; but strange to say, in this also he experienced resistance or neglect; and the natural consequence was a weakening of that attachment which it was so much our policy to have cherished by courtesy and liberality.

At a period when these, and various other disagreeable circumstances, obviously designed to render the situation of the general unpleasant, were obtruded upon his feelings, a shocking catastrophe occurred in the eastern part of the island, which evinced the necessity of an imposing military force in a country whose native inha-

bitants are radically hostile to the European name.

In the summer of 1813, a party of English officers went to reside some time for their health and amusement at Probolingo, near Sourabaya, a place celebrated for the salubrity of the air, and the pleasantness of the situation. The proprietor of the estate of Probolingo, called the China Major, was a man of large property, but of great liberality, and on this occasion he behaved with remarkable courtesy and politensss to our party.

On the morning of the eighteenth of June, Colonel and Mrs. Frazer, Captain M'Pherson, Captain Cameron, Lieutenant Robertson, and Ensign Cameron, went on a visit to the China Major; and in the evening, whilst they were riding out, some mantries came and reported that a body of armed men had descended from the mountains, and taken possession of a village, a short distance from the house; that, however, they did not molest the inhabitants, but declared they came to take the country by the command of Mahomet. Conceiving them to be nothing more than a set of religious enthu-

siasts, our party went to ascertain their number and intentions. With this view, the China Major collected his people, amounting to about two hundred, armed with pikes. The whole then proceeded about six paals, when the banditti were perceived in a coffee plantation; or rather a part of them, as the chief had placed a considerable number in ambush, ready to rush out on a signal. While some of the people were endeavouring to ascertain their object, the insurgents made a most furious attack, preceded by a dreadful yell: in consequence of which, the China Major's men gave way in every direction. Captain M'Pherson and Captain Cameron, who happened to be in front, the one armed with a pistol, and the other with a fowling-piece, retreated towards Colonel Fraser, and the other officers who accompanied the China Major, and some of his relations. After an attempt to make a stand, and discharging what shot they had, the small party, being hard pressed by the banditti, were obliged to retire. At this moment Colonel Fraser and Captain M'Pherson, being greatly exhausted, fell, and, with the China Major and two ser-

vants, were most cruelly murdered. The rest of the gentlemen made their escape with great difficulty, and were closely pursued to the house, where they arrived about ten o'clock. Captain Cameron immediately began to take measures for putting the place into a state of defence; and, towards morning, about one hundred and fifty of the China Major's people were collected for that purpose, several of whom afterwards dispersed and joined the enemy. In consequence of the different requisitions that had been forwarded to Passerouang and Sourabaya, seventy of the Djyang sekars arrived at half past five in the morning: on receiving which force, Captain Cameron again sent parties to collect the inhabitants, with a determined resolution to attack the banditti, and rescue, if possible, his brother officers and the China Major. Unfortunately, he was soon obliged to relinquish this design by the defection of the people, and the weakness of the sekars, who were armed only with pikes. The banditti had by this time advanced within one mile of the place, with their numbers considerably augmented. Soon after, their chief sent

a challenge to our party to come out and fight him, boasting that he had killed the English who fell into his hands the preceding evening. On receiving the confirmation of this melancholy event, and perceiving no chance of success with the contemptible force that he had, Captain Cameron turned his attention to the afflicted Mrs. Fraser, whom he conveyed to a prow, that was to take the China Major's family to Passerouang. Having done this, he returned again to the house, which he found abandoned by the servants, and the Djyang sekars also in full retreat, while the banditti were in possession of the front of the building. Nothing now remained for Captain Cameron and his friends but to effect their own escape, which they did with the greatest difficulty. Having ordered the Djyang sekars to proceed by a road that led from the rear of the house, and being anxious to afford every assistance in his power to Mrs. Fraser, Captain Cameron made the best of his way to the prow, which he had scarcely reached when the banditti appeared in great numbers on the beach, preparing to follow in boats. The prow immediately weighed,

and stood for Passerouang, where it arrived at eleven o'clock the same night, after encountering the dangers of the ocean, and being exposed to the burning heat of the sun.

As soon as this intelligence came to Major Forbes at Sourabaya, he proceeded for Probolingo, with a detachment of the seventy-eighth regiment, mounted on borrowed horses, and accompanied by a party of Djyang sekars, under Lieutenant Dwyer. On the road, information arrived, that the banditti had found five field pieces, and a quantity of ammunition, on the Chinese Major's premises. It was also ascertained that the insurgents were now considerably increased, and that the yellow flag was hoisted by them; which, as being the standard of the Emperor of Solo, led to a belief that he was at the bottom of this disturbance. At daybreak on the twentieth, the major came up with Colonel Arenschild, a pensioned officer of Passerouang, who had been dispatched by the resident there, with a body of armed men, the day before. After halting a short time to arrange the mode of attack, the whole moved forward to Probolingo, not far from which they

discovered a party of the insurgents, who speedily retired. The numerous bodies of natives being found to impede the march of the detachment, the major resolved to push forward with the detachment of the seventy-eighth regiment, the Djyang sekars, and one gun. At a distance of two paals, three field pieces were found placed on the road, and covered by numbers of the banditti, armed chiefly with pikes. These were instantly attacked; and when the detachment had come within twenty yards of them, continuing a heavy fire during the advance, they hastily fled, leaving the guns, and many killed and wounded. After a march of one paal, two more guns were seen on the road, covered as the others, only in greater force, with two large yellow flags, which gave reason to suppose that here the principal chief commanded. The insurgents shouted, and hastened to meet the detachment; to encourage which, Major Forbes took up a position on each side of the road, directing the Djyang sekars to keep at some distance in the rear. The banditti on this advanced with a shout; and the detachment reserving their fire till within a few

yards distance, opened it upon them in such an effectual and destructive manner, that after a short interval they ran and dispersed in all directions. The chief, being finally deserted by his people, rushed forward with a degree of frenzy, and was taken prisoner, though mortally wounded: a second chief was also brought in afterwards, and the brother of this last was killed. Thus, the insurrection being quelled, with no other loss on our part than two men wounded, Major Forbes returned with his detachment to Sourabaya.

The bodies of Colonel Fraser and Captain M'Pherson were found tied up in sacks; that of the latter exhibiting a sad spectacle, being greatly mangled, and pierced with numerous wounds.

It was necessary to give the particulars of this affecting narrative, because the tragic event which it records afforded a decisive confirmation of the opinion of the commander-in-chief in Java, that there was no security for the lives and property of the colonists, without a judicious disposition of an efficient military force. Had there been at this time, conformably to

his advice, a small garrison at Probolingo, and such as the importance of the place required, this misfortune would not have happened.

Such an afflicting occurrence, therefore, while it gave pain to the feeling heart of General Gillespie, was heightened in distress by the consideration that it might have been prevented by the timely adoption of those means of defence which he had recommended. But his views were too enlarged, and his principles were by far too liberal for the sphere in which he was now placed, and circumscribed as he was by the counteracting influence of those who either could not appreciate the purity of his motives, or who had very different objects of their own to pursue.

Under these circumstances, and being unwilling, from a sense of public duty, to express that resentment, which in any other case would have been perfectly justifiable, where want of confidence was aggravated by indelicate treatment, the general was anxious to remove from a situation, which, though it was the field of glory, had to him become the scene of trouble. After repeated solicitations, he obtained his

recal, and in October returned to Bengal, being succeeded in the command at Java by Major-General Nightingale.

Though by the revolution of political relations in Europe, this valuable island has been abandoned to its former owners, the importance of the conquest, and the magnitude of their services by whom it was gained, cannot be thereby lessened. It is, indeed, a matter deserving of serious consideration, whether in sound policy it would not have been wise to have retained a position, which, independent of its natural riches, gives a vast degree of influence to the possessor among the surrounding powers. In our hands, the condition of Java would have progressively improved, and that too in a very rapid manner, were we to judge from the advancement which it made during the short period that it has been under our dominion. But to render the benefit of our regulations permanently useful to Europeans in general, and to the natives in particular, it was expedient to have maintained a military establishment, economically formed, and properly distributed, which would have had the effect of

keeping the turbulent in awe, and of protecting the industrious. This was the decided opinion of General Gillespie, who saw that whatever might be the impression of our valour and strength upon the minds of the people in these parts, it would be the reverse of prudence and common sense to trust to that impression alone for security from their enmity. His penetrating and comprehensive judgment could take in a much larger and more remote space than is generally contemplated by those who are conversant in estimating the precise value of present objects, and who have hardly any idea unconnected with personal advantages.

General Gillespie, on the contrary, had less thought for himself than for his country; and of this disinterested and patriotic spirit his conduct throughout life was a splendid proof: but if a particular instance were at all requisite, a more striking one need not be adduced than his retirement from the command at Java, with the motives which occasioned that resignation, and the total disregard of personal emolument, which distinguished him while engaged in that

part of the world. That he returned to the Indian continent little enriched by his arduous services, may perhaps be considered by some as no mark of prudence; but it was honourable to his integrity; for all that he possessed was gained in the field, in which he shared no more than belonged to his rank, and consequently far below what would have been commensurate with his toils and his dangers. He scorned to make the situation in which he was placed after the conquest of the island the means of advancing his private fortune; and therefore he might truly have adopted the words of a brave old commander of another profession,—"That though his estate was small, it was dearly and honestly earned, having never cost a soldier a tear, nor the country a penny."

On his arrival at Calcutta, the Major-General ascended the Ganges to take the command at Meerat; but his lot was not that of luxuriant indulgence and calm repose; for though it is probable, that had his valuable life been prolonged, a due regard would have been paid to his distinguished talents and extraordinary virtues

by the British Government, he was destined to encounter nothing but difficulties, and to end his course in the career of glory.

The depredations, encroachments, and murders, committed by the Goorkahlees on our frontiers, continuing to increase in spite of all remonstrances and attempts at a pacific settlement, no alternative appeared between a degrading submission to their insolence and a vigorous system of hostility that should provide effectually against their ravages in future, by driving them within their former boundaries. No season appeared so promising for the accomplishment of this desirable object as the present, because the Goorkahlees were increasing in numbers and power every day; the necessary consequence of which would have been, that, in a very short space, our influence and even safety must have suffered considerably. Opinion is every thing in such a country as India: and whenever the natives shall begin to lose their reverence for the English arms, our superiority in other respects will quickly sink into contempt. Forbearance under repeated insults committed by these lawless marauders, who

acknowledged no law but their will, and no faith but their convenience, would unavoidably have brought our national character into disrepute among the various nations of the east. The high reputation of the mountaineers of Napaul for hardihood and valour among the surrounding tribes, and the singular notion which has long prevailed, that their country is protected by a supernatural power, gave a particular interest to the collision between them and a people who have performed such wonders in Asia as the English. However unpleasant, therefore, it might be to enter into a contest with these plunderers, justice and policy alike required that it should be no longer delayed; for no overtures could induce them to preserve moderation in regard to the rights of their neighbours; and such was their insolence, that they made no scruple of avowing their rapacious designs against those who were then under our protection. On all accounts, then, it became an imperious act of necessity to maintain the barrier of our possessions on that extensive line safe from these unprincipled hordes; and thus, by striking them with awe, prevent a confe-

deracy among the various other states, who, in their jealousy of our power, might be disposed to forget their own animosities for a time to join in expelling the English from India.

When the war was resolved upon by our government, preparations were made for carrying it on with vigour, and bringing it to a speedy conclusion. Among other prudent measures that were adopted, one was the purchase of provisions at a time when they were abundant and reasonable; and thus a regular supply for the army being secured, the malice of the enemy, in devastating their country, was little to be regarded. In the same careful attention to the comforts of our soldiers, it was settled that they should receive money instead of half their rations, by which regulations they were enabled to consult their particular conveniences, while the service was materially eased by saving a great expense in the conveyance of food, which in this hilly country can only be carried on men's shoulders. To cover the operations against Napaul, the armies of Madras and Bombay were ordered to advance close to their respective lines of frontier, whilst,

for the same purpose, that part of the Bengal force which was not elsewhere engaged, defended the upper provinces from insult. These judicious arrangements having been made, and all other necessary measures taken to bring the campaign to an honourable termination, thirty thousand men were prepared for the invasion of Napaul, a territory extending above eight hundred miles, and intersected by assemblages of hills jumbled together in many forms and directions, sometimes in chains, lying parallel to each other, but of no great extent, and often connected at their termination by narrow ridges, running at right angles across the intermediate valleys. The summits of all are very narrow, and of various forms, while the distance between each range is short; so that the valleys are extremely confined, and not a spot is to be seen in many of them that would afford room for one thousand men in tents. Some of these ranges are covered with forests, and are always verdant; others are naked and stony, neither yielding shelter to the birds of the air nor the beasts of the field.

Immediately beneath these mountains com-

mences a rich and well cultivated extent of country, with an active and warlike population, of which the tapahs, or cultivators of the land, are the most numerous and formidable. Of this cast was Umeer Sing, the principal commander of the Napaul troops, who, in 1803, by completing the conquest of Sirinagur, carried the dominion of the Goorkahlees almost to Kushmeer, after which he displayed considerable powers both as a warrior and a statesman.

According to the plan of operations for the invasion of Napaul, it was resolved to act upon four points at the same time, and thus to prevent the Goorkahlees from making incursions and laying waste our country, while we were penetrating into their's. Acting upon this principle of co-operation, two divisions were to enter the country to the westward, near the Sutledge; and two divisions to the eastward, upon Catmandu, the capital.

The two divisions of the former army were commanded by Colonel (now General) Ochterlony and by Major-General Gillespie, on whom devolved the arduous service of forcing a passage into the Deyrah Dhoon through the

mountains. As these two branches of the military force had the common object of reducing the Goorkah power to the west of the Ganges, and lastly in the province of Almorah, their operations had, of necessity, a dependence upon each other; and the movements of one division were of course to be regulated with a view to the assistance of its coadjutor.

The Deyrah Dhoon, or the Valley of Deyrah, which is so called from the village and sacred temple of that name, situated near the Assum river, extends from the Ganges in a north-westerly direction, till it meets the Jumna at the foot of the hills. Besides the principal post of Kalunga, the enemy had some very strong positions on the north side of the Jumna above the junction of that river with the Tonse; of which defences, the most distinguished were Colsie, Runtum, and Baraut, all in elevated situations, and almost inaccessible; but being on the right bank of the Jumna, they were of little importance, compared with the strong fortress which lay within the Dhoon.

The eastern passes into this valley are at Hurdwar and Rikkikies, by the former of which

Timour Shah or Tamerlane passed the Sawaleh mountains on his return to Persia. The passes into the Dhoon from our northern frontier are five, of which two only, the Timly and Kerrie, were discovered to be practicable for cavalry, infantry, and artillery.

The former of these passes is the most westerly, and the latter lies about the middle of the first range of hills. Above the Timly pass is a ford over the Jumna, and a little above it is the ferry of Rajhghaut.

In the vicinity of Rikkikies to the eastward is the Luckerghaut ferry; and here a mountain road or pass runs from the Dhoon in a northerly direction, within a short distance of the hill of Kalunga, and continuing the same course till it arrives at the Baghretti river, where it forms a junction with the great road leading from the more westerly parts of the Goorkah territories.

From the western side, and about the same parallel of latitude, runs the lesser valley of Kaerda, bounded on the west by a range of mountains very difficult of access, in which are the fortresses of Nahan, Jytuk, Jumpta, Mornee, &c. This valley obtains its name from a small

stockaded fort which defends the road that leads from the Rajhghaut ferry.

Having thus given a brief outline of the country which was intended for the scene of Major-General Gillespie's operations, it will be proper to take a slight view of the possessions occupied by the enemy near the Sutledge, where Colonel Ochterlony was engaged.

The Pinjoor valley constitutes the boundary of the Goorkhalee states to the north-west, and the Sutledge to the north. In this quarter their principal army under Umeer Sing was assembled in a stockaded position of great strength at Irkea; and in the immediate vicinity of this place stand the forts of Nallaghur, Yarraghur, Ramghur, Malouen, &c; the first of which is the key to the passes south of the Sutledge.

From the position of the enemy at Irkea are two communications, which, in the event of the defeat of Umeer Sing, would have remained open to them; one to the south at Nahan, where Runjour Sing, the son of that chieftain, commanded a garrison of chosen troops. And the other to the eastward, either by Bannahut

down the Baghretti and Alukandra rivers; or by crossing the Tonse by Colsie and Runtum, over the fords of the Jumna into the Dhoon.

Thus, while the enemy had provided for the security of their frontiers, by strong positions, they were enabled in the event of any disaster to retreat into the interior, and to multiply the difficulties of the invading army. It was, therefore, evidently necessary on the part of the latter to adopt a plan of operations calculated to prevent Umeer Sing and his force from making a retrograde movement by any of the routes, which, leading into the heart of the Dhoon, would insure his safety, and endanger that of his pursuers. Under this consideration, it became indispensable that the proceedings of Major-General Gillespie should be directed with an eye to the operations of Colonel Ochterlony, whose success depended, in a great degree, upon the advance of this division of the western army, the march of which we are now to follow.

It had been originally intended that the occupation of the Deyrah valley or Dhoon should have taken place immediately after the first of November; but from subsequent information, it became

a matter of importance to expedite the advance of the troops to the Goorkhalee frontier; and the earliest day from the fifteenth of October was determined upon for the commencement of hostile operations.

The general, writing to an esteemed friend on that day, says, "I am on the point of moving towards Seharanpore. The troops are all in advance. I expect to make an attack on the Dhoon the twenty-third or fourth, and move upon Nahan, if circumstances admit, about the thirty-first or first proximo, in order to support Colonel Ochterlony's attempt upon Nalyghur, and eventually move against Umeer Sing. Lord Moira has left in a great measure the movements from my side to myself. I am inclined to think that he will find the present undertaking more arduous and difficult than he imagines, as the country in itself is so difficult of access: every yard is a post, and the Goorkhalees are a very warlike active people.

"I shall have to move in several columns; and my force is so small, that I fear disaster.

"You recollect Mornee, where the Rajah wanted us to command his people. That very

spot where we encamped is close to where a detachment must enter the mountains for the purpose of attacking Nahan. The recollection of my friend will render this spot dear to me, and bring past scenes in glowing colours to my imagination."

It was not till the eighteenth of October that a sufficient force could be assembled at Seharanpore: and on the two following days the detachments moved forward, to penetrate into the Dhoon by the Timly and Kerrie passes. On the twenty-first, His Majesty's fifty-third regiment marched, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Jusmore, a village nearly equidistant from the two passes, with the intention of supporting either of the detachments in advance. Three companies of light infantry and a troop of dragoons posted themselves at Padshabagh, near the foot of the Timly pass, and closely watched the banks of the Jumna.

In the event of the Major-General's plans being successfully executed, it was to be expected that the passes would be carried, the ferries occupied, the several detachments of observation posted, and a junction of the forces

effected at Deyrah on or about the twenty-third, in which case a large detachment would have been available for the attack of Kalunga.

These expectations were justified by the result, which completely demonstrated the calculations of the Major-General, and the accuracy of his arrangements. On these grounds, added to the probability that Colonel Ochterlony would be hard pressed by Umeer Sing, he was induced to direct his attention to the support of that gallant officer's movements, and accordingly he made him a provisional promise of affording him collateral aid to the westward almost immediately after the first of November. To effect this object, therefore, it was necessary to complete the important part of the service in the Dhoon by the twenty-seventh of October; and from the information obtained respecting the state of Kalunga, it was judged that its reduction would not require the labour of three days. On the twenty-fourth, a body of cavalry and horse artillery crossed the Jumna in the route of Ludheana, and from thence to Seidoura, for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, and advancing the movements of Colonel Ochterlony.

The same day, the major-general marched with great expedition for the banks of the Jumna, by the Timly pass; and on the twenty-fifth, he advanced into the Dhoon, with the design of reconnoitring the positions of Colsie, Runtum, and Barauti. On descending into the Dhoon, he received intelligence from Colonel Mawby, giving the account of an unsuccessful attempt which he had just made upon Kalunga, and requesting to be favoured with further instructions. According to this report, it appeared that the colonel had marched the day before from Deyrah with the whole of his force, leaving only the rear guard for the protection of his camp, and ascended the Table Land, about eight hundred yards from Kalunga, and four hundred feet below its level, separated from it by a deep ravine, through which runs the water-course of Nala-panie. The colonel having brought up some light pieces with considerable labour to this eminence, after examining the fortress from thence, deemed the place impracticable to be taken by assault, and marched his troops back again to the camp.

This occurrence necessarily produced some

change and delay, but it made no alteration in the resolution and plan of the major-general, who immediately ordered up the detachments of cavalry and light infantry that had been left to watch the Jumna, together with some mortars and two twelve pounders. His activity increased with the difficulties of his situation; and though from his own observation he was fully aware of the obstacles he had to encounter, his confidence in the troops which he commanded rendered him superior to all fear of the result.

Of this firmness of mind, mixed with much liveliness of manner, a striking instance may be adduced in the following letter which he wrote from the position before Kalunga, on the twenty-eighth of October.

" My dear friend,

" *Me voici*—in the far famed Dhoon—the Tempe of Asia; and a most beautiful valley it is; the climate exceeding every thing I have hitherto experienced in India.

" It was not my intention to have advanced so far into the valley, had not Colonel Mawby,

whom I sent forward with a force I thought sufficient to completely take possession of the whole by a *coup de main*, failed. I was on the banks of the Jumna, and within the valley, with the intention of reconnoitring and examining its line, when I received Mawby's report that he had failed, from want of correct information, and that it was impracticable to take the place. At this moment, the greatest part of the troops, excepting one thousand three hundred infantry, five guns, and three hundred cavalry in advance with Mawby, were at Seharanpore, and below the Ghauts, ready to pass the Jumna into the Seik country, for the purpose of moving to the westward, to support Colonel Ochterlony's movements. You may imagine this check completely changed my plans: and here I am, with as stiff and strong a position as ever I saw, garrisoned by men who are fighting *pro aris et focis* in my front, and who have decidedly formed the resolution to dispute the fort as long as a man is alive.

" The fort stands on the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain, and covered with an impenetrable jungle; the only approaches com-

manded, and stifly stockaded. It will be a tough job to take it; but, by the first proximo, I think I shall have it, *sub auspice Deo!*"

On the twenty-ninth, Captain Campbell announced the intelligence of his having occupied Colsie, the enemy retiring as he advanced; in consequence of which, and agreeably to his own request, that officer was directed to join head-quarters, after taking proper care for the command of the fort.

The same day, the major-general having reconnoitred the place, chose a position for an advanced encampment; after which, he drew up the following orders, which, as the last production of this excellent commander, will be read with lively interest by all who admired his virtues.

FIELD ORDERS.

Camp near Deyrah,
29th October, 1814.

The Troops will change their ground to-morrow morning, and encamp in the following order:

Right or First Column, Colonel Carpenter—Two battalions of His Majesty's fifty-third foot; two companies seventeenth native infantry; sixth, seventh, and seventeenth light infantry battalions, under Major E. J. Wilson. A detail of Golandauze and Lascars, sufficient to carry four boxes of two hundred rounds of musket ammunition each.

Reserve, Major Ludlow—Remainder of the eighth native infantry—Detachment of the nineteenth native infantry, and light company of the twenty-sixth native infantry—Remainder of the seventh native infantry.

Second Column, Captain Fast, Seventeenth—Light company of the twenty-seventh native infantry—Three hundred rank and file of the seventeenth native infantry, pioneers, and a detail of Golandauze and gun Lascars sufficient to carry two boxes of two hundred rounds of musket ammunition.

Third Column, Major Kelly—Three hundred rank and file of the seventh native infantry—Light companies of the first and fifth regiments, and twenty pioneers.

Fourth Column, Captain Campbell, Sixth Native Infantry—First Grenadier company, sixth native infantry, one battalion company ditto, and light company of the sixteenth native infantry. The fourth column will encamp in the second line, in rear of Lieutenant-Colonel Carpenter's column.

Officers will be careful to direct their men on all occasions to reserve their fire, and on no account to allow a shot to be fired at random; and the Major-General expects they will distinctly explain to their respective corps the necessity in action of taking a cool and deliberate aim; and, above all, to impress on their minds the advantage to be gained by a determined use of the bayonet.

Officers at the head of columns of attacks will move deliberately, so that the men will not lengthen out, and be enabled to preserve their distance, and keep up without fatiguing their men or exhausting their breath: officers therefore are recommended to bring their soldiers to the storm in possession of all their physical powers, to effect the impression that animal spirits and unimpaired vigour can always command.

Strict silence to be observed; and if necessary to give a word of command during the march of a column to a point of attack, it must be communicated from the front to the rear by the men themselves repeating in a whisper the word of their commander.

When the head of a column is prepared to *debouche*

towards the point of attack, a short halt should be made to gain breath, if circumstances will admit, and the officers in command will bring up their men in compact order, with steady and cool determination. This is the moment an enemy will endeavour to take advantage of any looseness or precipitation. In all attacks (generally speaking) against entrenched or stockaded posts, firing and halting to reload often causes severe loss—this may be avoided by an undaunted and spirited storm. In case of ambuscade, or surprize, a soldier requires all his natural courage; and when he is so situated as to be exposed to such attacks in jungles and narrow pathways, he must predetermine within himself to preserve the utmost coolness: hurry must be avoided to prevent confusion; and even loss sustained with steadiness can be remedied; and an officer in command ought always previously to arrange in what way he should repel, and guard against such occurrences.

The enemy we have to encounter are dexterous in using a short sword—Officers, caution your soldiers to keep them at the point of the bayonet—in the storm beware of their closing.

When several columns move to given points, officers commanding columns will bear in mind the utility and necessity of training their march so as to render the attack simultaneous. The effects of several columns moving at once on an object is on most occasions decisive.

Let emulation actuate all; but corrected by steadiness and coolness—no breakings of ranks or running for who

is to be foremost in the contest—each column must be a mutual support—and every soldier actuated by the principle of cool and deliberate valour, will always have the advantage over wild and precipitate courage.

Major-General Gillespie presumes to offer these few suggestions, notwithstanding the many excellent and experienced officers in the field might have precluded the necessity: he relies however on their indulgence, which he is confident he will experience from the harmony and zealous soldier-like feeling that appears to inspire all.

Field Orders, thirtieth of October.—Officers commanding columns are requested to set their watches with the Major-General's.

Parole, MOIRA.—*Countersign*, FORWARD.

The columns under Colonel Carpenter, Major Ludlow, and Captain Campbell, will form in front of their lines at nine o'clock to-night, and march conformably to routes which they will receive from head quarters.—The column under Captain Fast to parade and march at three o'clock to-morrow morning, agreeably to a route which will be hereafter issued to him. The column under Major Kelly to parade and march at two o'clock to-morrow morning. His route will be sent during the day.

Officers commanding columns will be pleased to order twelve men armed with Tulwars to precede each of their columns.

On the morning of the thirtieth the army moved forward, and encamped near the foot of the hills in this order :

The right column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Carpenter, consisted of two companies of the fifty-third regiment of foot, two companies of the seventeenth native infantry, and light companies of the sixth, seventh, and seventeenth native infantry, under Major Wilson. A detail of Golandauze and Lascars, conveying ammunition, and a portion of pioneers for carrying ladders.

The reserve, under Major Ludlow, having the remainder of the eighth native infantry, a detachment of the nineteenth ditto, and light company of the twenty-sixth ditto, with the remainder of the seventh ditto.

Second column, under Captain Fast, having the light company of the twenty-seventh native infantry, three hundred rank and file of the seventeenth ditto, sixteen pioneers, and a detail of Golandauze and Lascars to carry ammunition.

Third column, under Major Kelly, consisting of three hundred rank and file of the seventh

native infantry, light companies of the first and fifth ditto, and twenty pioneers.

Fourth column, under Captain Campbell, having the grenadier company of the sixth native infantry, one battalion company of the sixth, and light company of the tenth ditto. One troop of the eighth, or His Majesty's Royal Irish Dragoons, dismounted, was kept in readiness near head-quarters, to join the reserve under Major Ludlow.

At half-past three in the afternoon, Lieutenant-Colonel Carpenter, with his column, supported by the reserve under Major Ludlow, advanced, and occupied the table-land already mentioned; the enemy maintaining a wild, irregular fire from light guns in the fort, and a small discharge of matchlocks from a neighbouring eminence.

During the night, batteries for two twelve pounders, four six pounders, two mortars, and two howitzers, were erected, under the direction of Major Pennington, commanding the artillery, and Lieutenant Blair of the engineers, assisted by the officers of pioneers, and Captain Byers, aid-de-camp to Major-General Gillespie.

The guns, mortars, and howitzers, having been brought up the hill on elephants, were placed in the batteries before day-break in the morning of the thirty-first, and shortly afterwards a well-directed fire was opened on the fort, which was as briskly returned.

At two o'clock the same morning, one column, under Major Kelly, marched by a detour to the other side of the hill, placing itself in advance of the village of Kinsale. A second column, under Captain Fast, moved at the same time on Luckhound; and one under Captain Campbell towards Ustul. These three columns, with that under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Carpenter, supported by the reserve, were intended to make a simultaneous assault on four separate points.

The signal was to be fired two hours previous to the storm, in order to enable the different columns to correct their distances from the place, should it be discovered that the information given by the guides was erroneous. The discharge of five guns, preceded by a silence of as many minutes on the part of the batteries, was the appointed signal; which fire

was to be repeated by the field-pieces in the camp. At seven o'clock, the first three guns were fired, at intervals of one minute each; and the last two quick. A little before nine, a detachment of the enemy, which, during the night preceding, had occupied a hill on the right, for the purpose of harassing the working party and outposts, moved forward, with the obvious intention of turning our flank; but in this design they were checked by the fire of an howitzer, and finally driven back at the point of the bayonet. As at this time the signal for the assault had been fired, the penetrating eye of the major-general discerned in the circumstance of the repulse an opportunity for pursuing the retreating enemy into their own works; and instantly availing himself of that advantage, he ordered the assailing column to advance, supported by the reserve, and covered by the fire of the batteries.

This body succeeded with some little difficulty in entering the stockade, the royal Irish dragoons, one hundred of whom were dismounted, under the command of Captain Bruton, driving the enemy before them quite

through the village, and to the very walls of the place. But this stockade was altogether contemptible, and intended for no other purpose than merely as a fence to enclose a number of huts that were erected close under this part of the wall.

Nothing could surpass the gallantry of the King's Royal Irish, who took the lead in the storm; but after penetrating to the wicket, they were there obliged to retire, for the want of immediate support. The troops, however, still continued to maintain their position with cool intrepidity, keeping up a heavy though useless fire of musketry; but at length shewing an inclination to retire, positive orders were sent to hold possession of the stockade until the party could be reinforced. But, unfortunately for those who had to endure a painful and unequal struggle in this quarter, the two columns under Major Kelly and Captain Fast, on the other side, did not hear the signal; and thus the relief which their presence would have afforded did not arrive when it was wanted. It is observable, that the major-general, having been apprehensive that some misconception

might take place, directed his aid-de-camp to send positive injunctions to those officers to storm immediately; but though the orders were dispatched in duplicate, and by different routes, they never reached their destination. The column commanded by Captain Campbell came up at the close of the action, and most handsomely covered the retreat.

Three companies of his Majesty's fifty-third regiment having arrived from camp, at half past ten o'clock were ordered on with two six-pounders; and the major-general, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Westenra of the eighth light dragoons, Major Stevenson, commissary-general, and his personal staff, entered the stockade at the head of the troops. The guns being pushed up within twenty-five yards of the walls of the fort, were served by the horse artillery with the greatest coolness and precision. Under the cover of this fire the storming party formed, and advanced to the charge, but was impelled back by a sweeping fire of grape, match locks, arrows, and various destructive missiles, peculiar to the Indian warfare. A second attempt to carry the place,

though vigorously made, experienced the same resistance, and was equally unsuccessful. From a wicket, before which one of the six-pounders had been placed, a heavy fire was maintained; to avoid which, the major-general gave orders that the troops should branch off on each side, and he took the lead, thus striving, by his great and energetic example, to turn the fortune of the day. Affairs were at this moment in a most desperate state; and the resolution of the commander to head his troops in person, though perhaps not strictly conformable to ordinary rules, and common cases, was indispensibly necessary in that critical posture of the assault. The general was fully aware of the difficulty which pressed upon him; and though he was as free from reproach as from fear, he could not, consistent with his sense of professional duty, suffer his troops to bear a greater share of personal danger than himself. He was of opinion that the fort might be taken by assault, and his plan was well digested for that purpose; but when he saw that the valour and fortitude of the soldiers with whom the attack lay had suffered an unfortunate depression, in

consequence of the formidable difficulties that were opposed to them, he resolved to set them an example of impulsive forwardness, in the hope that their efforts would be crowned with success on the coming up of the other divisions to their support. Obstacles and dangers which appal the courage of others only tended to quicken his spirit, and to stimulate him to exertions corresponding with his declaration on leaving the batteries, "that he would take the fort, or lose his life in the attempt."

This devoted heroism had the effect of reanimating the troops, who, being thus led on, moved forward with alacrity to make another attempt: but while the general was waving his hat and sword, cheering his men and calling them on, within a few paces of the walls, he was shot through the heart, and instantly expired.

Thus, in the exuberance of his zeal for the service, and in a total disregard of his personal safety, fell this exalted and inestimable character, a little before twelve o'clock, and when our troops had been more than an hour within thirty yards of the walls.

Here let us pause a moment to drop the tear

of sympathetic regret over the corse of the hero, in the fond recollection of his virtues, and to express a sorrowful concern that he should have been taken away in the midst of his usefulness, and the vigour of his glory, like the pride of the forest, when blasted by a stroke of lightning.

All hopes of success being destroyed by this fatal catastrophe, the next senior officer, on being made acquainted with it, immediately ordered a retreat, and the whole, with the guns of the batteries, returned to the camp. The ladders were lost in the first attempt; but there is reason to believe that could they have been found in the last assault, their application at that part of the wall which was approached by a small detachment would have been attended with success; for at this period the enemy had given up every thing as lost, and were, in reality, preparing to abandon the place.

In recording this melancholy disaster, it is a painful but necessary duty to take a review of the subject, for the purpose of shewing that the lamented chief was not only perfectly justified in the course which he adopted, but that in

strict propriety he had no alternative under the pressing exigencies of the circumstances.

Owing rather to the want of support than to the power of the enemy, the troops had become so dispirited by the first repulse, that the stimulating example of their commander was alone capable of bringing them to a renewal of the combat. Had the place been impregnable, the case would have been very different; and whatever might be our admiration of the courage of the general, an apology for his conduct would have been difficult, except in the language of an elegant writer, respecting the venturous boldness of a great naval hero, "That to mention the impetuosity of his courage, is to make the blame of his temerity equal to the praise of his valour; and that this illustrious man was once betrayed to an inconsiderate and desperate enterprize by the resistless ardour of his own spirit, and a noble jealousy of the honour of his country."

But in the present instance we are freed from the necessity of vindicating the energy of General Gillespie at the expense of his judgment, for the imputation of temerity could not be charged

upon him without palpable injustice, as the attainment of the fortress was not only desirable but practicable. According to every observation, the place was vulnerable, as the walls were rather low, and not without an inlet; on which account Major Ludlow, an officer of great discernment and gallantry, gave it as his opinion that the fortress might be carried without firing.

It may, perhaps, be said, that considering the natural strength of the position, and the determined spirit of the enemy, prudence would have dictated a blockade of the place till a battering train could be obtained sufficient for its reduction. In reply to this, it is sufficient to remark, that besides the unavoidable injury occasioned by the weakening of the force in that case, the delay of four or five weeks, which must necessarily have taken place for procuring an adequate supply from the magazines, would have crippled the plan of the campaign, and have thrown advantages into the power of the enemy which could not easily have been retrieved. By watching the fortress of Kalunga till the artillery conld arrive, this division of the army must have been kept in a state of comparative inacti-

vity above a month, which must, of course, have sensibly affected the ulterior object of the service, and, in all probability, completely disarranged the operations of the division under Colonel Ochterlony. It was of great importance to the movement of that officer from Rooper on Nallaghur, and accordingly with that view the Major-General had promised to make a powerful diversion in his favour about the first of November. Now, to redeem this pledge, and to carry on with vigour the other objects of the enterprize, the reduction of Kalunga was indispensable; as otherwise no diversion could have been made with a prospect of success, because a considerable force must have remained to observe that fortress. Besides this, it was absolutely necessary to observe with close attention all the points lying open to the operations and march of an active enemy. The road leading from the position of Umeer Sing at Irkea to the banks of the Tonse, was represented as perfectly free to the march of his army; and both the Tonse and the Jumna were fordable in many places. Under these circumstances, a large extent of country would have required

close observation, together with the Rajhghaut ferry; in addition to which, another road lay behind the hill of Kalunga, running in an easterly direction along the hills forming the northern boundary of the Dhoon, which must also have been watched by a small corps at least. After such a distribution of the troops, therefore, it may safely be left to the judgment of any considerate and dispassionate inquirer, whether any adequate force could have remained as a reserve to act with effect against Umeer Sing in the event of his falling back on the Dhoon by the northern road.

By getting Kalunga into our possession, the enemy would have been deprived of the only strong position which he held within the valley, and in that case, a moderate garrison, placed in the village and temple of Deyrah, would have proved a rallying point not only for our own corps of observation, but for the inhabitants, who might be disposed to throw off the Goorkhah yoke in this quarter. So long as a garrison of the troops of Napaul continued in the fortress of Kalunga, our operations in the Dhoon must have been extremely limited, re-

duced to great uncertainty, and without deriving the least assistance from the people of the country. The necessity of an immediate attack of this post being therefore obvious, the only consideration remaining was the numerical strength of our own force, and the nature of the resistance it had to overcome. The former is easily to be inferred from a cursory view of the military returns on that fatal day; and though the natural advantages of the place were improved by the exertions and determined valour of a hardy race of mountain warriors, subsequent experience proved that the major-general was perfectly correct in estimating its fall, and in the measures which he adopted for effecting that object.

To whatever causes the failure was owing, whether in the ordinary nature of human accidents, by which well-concerted plans are not properly understood on the part of those who are entrusted with the execution of them, or in the want of that promptitude which could alone ensure success, no reflection can be cast upon the memory of the commander, either on account of the plan of the assault, or his con-

duct in endeavouring to recover the fortune of the day. It was certainly reduced to a forlorn hope, and as such, the general considered it to be his duty to expose himself in the most conspicuous manner, that, if possible, his example might inspire and rouse the emulation of his troops into another vigorous and effectual attack upon the place. The heroic sentiment which occasioned this sacrifice has carried the renown of the British arms to a height of splendour, that, in point of radical virtue, and permanent utility, has far exceeded the Grecian and Roman glory. That daring spirit of bold enterprize, which in Europe has stamped with immortality so many illustrious names, will be found peculiarly needful in the vast and complicated regions of the east, where, from the character of the people, and the tenure of our possessions, we shall be continually obliged to maintain a high military attitude. But the effect of that power must depend on the commanding talents and unshackled energy of the generals who are employed in the service; for where there are jarring interests, it is obvious the

seeds of dissatisfaction will produce error and confusion, defeat and disgrace.

It is distressing to reflect that an invaluable life was here cut off by a voluntary act of devotion for the public good, which might have been preserved for many years of active service and honourable retirement, had all who were with him been equally animated in the cause of their country. But in this case it was a mournful satisfaction for him to say with the Spartan commander, in a situation of extreme difficulty, "Whatever misconduct shall happen in this battle, I shall either conquer or die."

The body of Major-General Gillespie being laid in spirits, was conveyed to Meerat for interment, and a monument has been there erected to his memory by the officers who served under his command.

Earl Moira, also the Governor-General of India, whose friendship for the deceased hero was of the purest kind, has signified his intention of consecrating a cenotaph to the same sacred object; while at home, the two houses of parliament, on the motion of His Majesty's

ministers, have voted a public monument to the major-general, and another to his companion in arms, Major-General Sir Samuel Gibbs, who fell about the same period, and in a similar manner, for the want of support in an attack upon New Orleans. Thus, after enduring the perilous climate of Batavia, and facing death together in the tremendous conflict of Cornelis, these gallant men were distinguished by being nominated in the same gazette to the honourable Order of the Bath, and joined ultimately in a parliamentary resolution for a monumental commemoration of their distinct services, and the final termination of their glorious career in opposite quarters of the globe.

Private friendship indulged its sorrows on the melancholy intelligence of the death of General Gillespie, in two poetical effusions, which are highly creditable to the feelings of the writers, and happily characteristic of the extraordinary virtue they were intended to celebrate. The first of these pieces was composed in the east, by an officer, and has already appeared in one of the journals published in that part of the world. The second is the production of

an amiable and accomplished young lady in this country, and was written on receiving a letter from an esteemed friend, lamenting the untimely fate of the general, and announcing the intention of Earl Moira to erect a cenotaph at Calcutta, in honour of his great public services and private virtues.

THE HERO'S DEATH.

At eventide, a crimson ray
Reminds us of the parting day;
Impending mists obscure the view,
And all assumes a sombre hue.
The distant spires, that pleas'd the sight,
All vanish with the fading light:
The gloom enshrouds the hill and vale,
The city and the sylvan dale.
But yet to-morrow's sun shall glow,
And man again its blessings know:
To-morrow's sun shall shine again,
And gild the city and the plain:
Yet he whose martial course has run,
No more shall greet the rising sun.
His dwelling is the silent tomb,
Midst darkness black as Stygian gloom.
But yet for one exists a spell,
Who serv'd his natal soil so well;
That bids a light eternal shine,
To grace the hero's honor'd shrine.

GILLESPIE's gone!—yet still shall fame
Immortalize the warrior's name.
Mourn all ye soldiers! deeply mourn—
Your dearest friend will ne'er return.
He's gone!—and fled that noble soul,
Where honour reign'd without controul.
He lov'd you: let your valour prove
That you were worthy of his love:
And when amidst the battle's roar,
O! think GILLESPIE leads before:
And then revenge the fatal blow,
That laid your gallant chieftain low.
He fell! but, at his parting breath,
GILLESPIE died a soldier's death!

On the death of Major-General Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie, K. C. B. killed at Kalunga, in the East Indies, on the 31st of October, 1814.

Needless it is to raise the tomb of state,
To mark the spot in which a good man sleeps;
Since friendship, bending at the stroke of fate,
Embalms his virtues, as o'er him she weeps.

These tender tears, to cherish'd virtue due,
This unavailing flood of genuine grief,
GILLESPIE! shall thy sacred name bedew,
And give fresh verdure to each laurel leaf.

But ye who mourn the honor'd hero's death,
Arouse from woe, and lead the life he led;
Practise his virtues till your latest breath,
To be like him illustrious when ye're dead.

In reviewing the professional character of General Gillespie, the first consideration that must strike the observer, is the uncommon ardour he uniformly displayed under all circumstances, and in various situations. Nothing was suffered to damp his activity of spirit, or to draw him aside from the career of glory, in which he was engaged. His enterprizing genius acquired new energy in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered, and the occasional mortifications that it was his fortune to endure. The high sense of duty, and an emulation of discharging it satisfactorily to his own mind, predominated in him over all regard to private feelings. But though his courage was undaunted, and his fortitude not to be diverted by the cold and calculating policy of expedience, his actions were neither temerarious, nor his resolutions unpremeditated. Bold in execution, and determined in his designs, he was, notwithstanding, diligent in his observations, and

careful in the construction of his plans. He was equally a pattern for constant imitation in the system of military discipline, and an example to be followed in the field of battle. Personal attention to order in every department of the service that came under his immediate cognizance, and promptitude in every critical position, rendered him an object of esteem and admiration to all who had an opportunity of witnessing the commanding vigour of his intellect, and the unaffected heroism of his conduct. Hence he was revered by the private soldiers, and beloved by the officers, who had the felicity of serving under him: the one regarding him as a father, and the others valuing him as their friend and exemplar. To a chivalrous intrepidity, which faced death without any concern for his own safety, was joined a tender sympathy for his companions in arms. No man had more feeling for the sufferings of others, or could be more anxious to save the effusion of human blood, while he appeared prodigal in the exposure of his own person, and thereby stimulated his followers to deeds of daring valour. In preparing to meet

the foe, or to storm a bulwark, he was calm, collected, and sedulous of information; but obstacles that would have appalled mechanical minds, and such as are ever ready to magnify perils, or to multiply hazards, as an excuse for their own prudence, only served to sharpen his desire, and to quicken his exertions. To this rare conjunction of extraordinary talents, and contempt of death, inflexible firmness in action, and persevering energy in pursuing an advantage, was added the purest patriotism, which he evinced through every changing scene of his eventful life. After enduring for many years the contagious atmosphere of Hispaniola, and a fatiguing though honourable service in Jamaica, instead of enjoying the *otium cum dignitate* to which he was entitled, or at least some relaxation from his labours and anxieties, in the bosom of domestic tranquillity, he was under the necessity of employing his powers on the shores of Asia. A too generous confidence in the honour of others involved him in embarrassments, to the injury of his private fortune, which impelled him to seek relief in laborious exertions, and the forgetfulness of wrongs in a variation of

scene, and the remoteness of distance. But there is an overruling destiny, which, without imposing any force upon human actions, converts the slightest incidents and the most unpleasant casualties into agencies of general benefit. Thus the mortifying disappointments experienced by this gallant officer induced him to visit India, where, on his arrival, he rescued Vellore from a body of ferocious insurgents, thereby saving many valuable lives in that fortress; and, what was of still greater consequence, extinguished a flame, which, but for his promptitude, would have consumed the English interests in the Carnatic. That a service involving so many momentous consequences should have hitherto been comparatively little heeded, except among those who witnessed the atchievement, and felt its beneficial effects in their immediate deliverance, may be lamented hereafter, when the remembrance of former neglect shall throw a damp over the ardour of professional zeal. It is neither illiberal nor gloomy to suppose, that if ever a struggle for the preservation of the British possessions in India shall arise, the occurrence at Vellore will act otherwise than as a stimulus to the sacrifice

of personal ease and the display of heroic valour. But the advantages rendered to the country at that time were not confined to that single exploit; for the improvement which took place in the state of our army, under the inspection and particular regulation of this excellent commander, contributed greatly to the success which so speedily and gloriously crowned the expedition against Java. The state of defence in which that island was placed, and the force there employed, plainly shewed the importance in which the possession of it was held, and the resistance that an invading power had to expect. Unless, therefore, the British troops employed in this enterprize had been in the highest condition of discipline, it would have been impossible for any plan, however well conceived and skilfully arranged, to have succeeded. Besides the depressing effects of a long and tedious voyage in a burning climate, the nature of the service itself, on an extended line of unhealthy coast, occupied in great strength by the most formidable of enemies, presented obstacles which nothing could overcome but habitual order and valour in the forces, directed by the con-

summate skill and intrepidity of our leaders. Yet, through their unremitted attentions, the whole equipment reached the place of destination in a condition fit for immediate operations: and such were the particular exertions of the commander who conducted the first division, that no loss was sustained during the navigation, nor was any delay necessary to recruit the health of the troops, and to prepare them for action. But great as his services were in the course of this expedition, and in atchieving the conquest, they were surpassed afterwards by what he performed in securing the safety of the colony, and establishing it on a permanent basis, when to all appearance it was on the verge of ruin. Less enterprizing genius would have acted with a cautious and temporizing policy towards the native princes, who were secretly plotting to accomplish the destruction of the European settlements throughout the island: but General Gillespie, aware that the chain must be broken before it was compacted into an organized state that would have rendered resistance useless, determined to attack the leading power without delay. Inadequate as his means

might be considered, he had the fullest reliance on the troops he commanded; and the result proved, in the capture of Djoejocarta, with its perfidious chief, that, however bold and daring his plan might be, it was the only one that could have been adopted for the preservation of the settlement. It may, therefore, be truly said, that the advantages produced by our attainment of Java, and the improvements which have taken place there in consequence of its passing under the British government, were in a considerable degree owing to the comprehensive views and energetic proceedings of the military commander who was left to participate in the administration with the civil authority. The latter, however, would have been totally inefficient to maintain its power, or to carry into execution any extensive changes for the general benefit of the native states, had they not been previously reduced to a condition that rendered them incapable of disturbing the public peace. By the subjugation of the Sultaun of Mataram, the field of industry and improvement was completely laid open, and effectually secured within a barrier that could not be easily weak-

ened. The effects of that security, which the exertions of General Gillespie provided, have amply appeared in the statistical reports on the prosperous state of the island and its dependencies. But though a very elaborate view has been exhibited, and, no doubt, justly, of the ameliorated situation of the country, by the institutions that a liberal policy has adopted, and of the rapid progress which industry and civilization have made under our government, little, if any, notice has been taken of the obligation due to the man, who, by his vigorous measures and undaunted courage laid the foundation of the great moral change thus wrought in the character and circumstances of Java.

It was peculiarly the hard lot of General Gillespie to be called to the execution of very perilous enterprizes at the imminent risk of his life, and to endure afterwards the mortification of seeing his glory acknowledged as a matter of course in public, and of having his good designs impeded and rendered ineffectual in private. Having extended the European power in Java and its dependencies to a state of unrivalled greatness, it was perfectly natural and just that

he should have looked for honourable confidence and dignified repose, as some compensation for the difficulties which he had removed, and the benefits which he had secured. Instead of this, he found, that without compromising his principles, and yielding to measures which he disapproved, it was impossible for him to remain free from provoking slights, or unannoyed by petulant opposition. All this, however, he endured much longer than his private feelings would have permitted in any case where the public service was unconcerned: but such was his patriotic spirit and sense of duty, that he could not be induced to abandon even a troublesome situation, while his presence there was considered necessary by the supreme government in India. This self-controul originated in the same exalted motives which led to his subsequent retirement from a command, where subservience to the decision of others, and a tacit acquiescence in their proceedings, might have been turned to profitable account. But his ideas were superior to all sordid considerations; and he never could submit to pursue any object by unworthy means, or to adopt the

trucking policy which makes individual emolument the rule of public conduct. Disinterestedness was indeed as resplendent in his character as the love of active employment or the thirst of glory. No man could, with greater propriety, have adopted the declaration which our immortal bard has put into the mouth of the conqueror of Agincourt:

> In truth I am not covetous of gold,
> Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost.
> It yearns me not if men my garments wear:
> Such outward things dwell not in my desires.
> But if it be a sin to covet HONOUR,
> I am the most offending soul alive.

He had no failings or propensities to divert his faculties, to dissipate his time, and to impair his fortune, beyond what are incidental and common to the noblest dispositions: and though his heart was susceptible of the softest emotions, he never suffered any of the attachments resulting from these impressions to interfere with his public avocations and professional pursuits. He was ever alert in the discharge of his particular duties, and diligently observant of those who served under his orders. The generosity

of his temper, and the liberality of his sentiments, made him indulgent to the errors arising from human infirmity, and charitable with respect to casual inadvertencies; though at the same time he was careful to enforce regularity by his directions, and to recommend it by his example. In discipline he was uniformly strict, but always courteous and paternal, requiring nothing to be performed by those around him that he was not forward to practise in his own person. Merit of every degree, and in the lowest stations, had in him a zealous and stedfast patron, as far as his ability enabled him to give it encouragement; while the sorrows and sufferings of the distressed were certain of exciting his commiseration and obtaining his relief; so that, on all accounts, to him might be applied the endearing and honourable appellation, of which he was laudably ambitious, that he was "THE SOLDIER'S FRIEND."

His mind was the mirror of integrity; and his deportment towards his associates and dependents continually exhibited the sincerity of his intentions and the purity of his actions. The circle of private society never enjoyed a

more delightful companion, for his conversation was cheerful without levity, and his manners refined without affectation. To the most exalted principles of truth and correct notions of decorum, he united a condescending familiarity of behaviour, and an agreeable pleasantry, which rendered his acquaintance desirable; while the stability of his temper, and the sacred fidelity of his engagements, gave to his friendship a stamp of inestimable value.

Such is the brief outline of a character, who, when all reasonable allowance is made for ordinary imperfections, may be termed a luminary of the first order in the military sphere, and a brilliant ornament of human nature. Feeble and rude as this sketch is, it has been delineated from a personal observation of much of the toil, and from a participation in many of the dangers here related. Reflecting that life is precarious, and memory frail, the writer has ventured with the mixed feelings of pleasing recollection and painful emotion, to place this votive tablet in the public view, as a humble testimony to exalted worth, and the grateful record of private friendship.

It has been justly observed, "That the life of

a modern soldier is ill represented by heroic fiction;" and therefore, while in the preceding narrative circumstances are stated which some may consider as bearing a high chivalric cast and complexion, care has been taken to avoid amplification in the story and elevation in the diction. Simplicity of style has been scrupulously regarded as best suited to the verity of the facts and the merits of the subject, the one standing in no need of ornamental embellishment to give them effect, nor the other of eulogium to render it interesting. In consigning to history the task of registering the deeds of this excellent man, they who knew him most intimately will cherish the remembrance of his virtues, with tender affection and regret, that the enjoyment has passed to return no more; at the same time deriving relief under this depression, from the consideration that their friend died as he had uniformly lived, in the path of honour, and crowned with that glory which will preserve his memory among the "Men of renown who have left a name behind them that their praises might be reported."

THE END.

B. Clarke, Printer, Well Street, London.

W 97

A. A. *British Batteries.*

B *2 Howitzers detached to keep the Enemy in check.*

C. *2, 6 Pounders advanced to cover the last assault.*

D. *A detach.t of Goorkalees.*

E. *Spot on which Major Gen.l Gillespie fell, close to the Wicket*

KALUNGA.

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